

Publishing Subversive Texts in Elizabethan England and
the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 52

The Handpress World

Editor-in-Chief

Andrew Pettegree (*University of St Andrews*)

Editorial Board

Ann Blair (*Harvard University*)

Falk Eisermann (*Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz*)

Ian Maclean (*All Souls College, Oxford*)

Angela Nuovo (*University of Udine*)

Mark Towsey (*University of Liverpool*)

Malcolm Walsby (*University of Rennes II*)

VOLUME 39

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/lww

Publishing Subversive Texts in Elizabethan England and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Edited by

Teresa Bela
Clarinda Calma
Jolanta Rzegocka



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: [Richard Verstegan], *Descriptiones quaedam illius inhumanae et multiplicis persecutionis, quam in Anglia propter fidem sustinent Catholice Christiani*. Francisco Zanetti: Romae, 1584. Photo courtesy of Czartoryski Library in Kraków, Shelfmark 1784 III.

Want or need Open Access? Brill Open offers you the choice to make your research freely accessible online in exchange for a publication charge. Review your various options on brill.com/brill-open.

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill." See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1874-4834

ISBN 978-90-04-32078-9 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-32080-2 (e-book)

Copyright 2016 by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill nv incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi and Hotei Publishing.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill nv provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.

Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Preface VII

List of Tables and Figures IX

Notes on Contributors XI

- 1 By Way of Introduction: National Bibliography and Collective Catalogues of Printed Material Produced in the First Centuries of Print in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 1

Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba

PART 1

English Recusant Presence in the Print Culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

- 2 Recusant Prose in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century 11

Mirosława Hanusiewicz-Lavallee

- 3 James VI and I, the Scottish Jesuit, and the Polish Pasquils 28

Martin Murphy

- 4 English Recusants in the Jesuit Theatre of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 41

Jolanta Rzegocka

- 5 In the Eye of the Storm: Books in the Conflict between the Jesuits and the University of Kraków (1622–1634) 56

Magdalena Komorowska

- 6 Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1549–1616): Prince, Patron and Printer 72

Clarinda Calma

PART 2

Subversive Publishing during the Elizabethan Settlement

- 7 “Guiding Souls to Goodness and Devotion”: Clandestine Publications and the English Jesuit Mission 93
Thomas M. McCoog, SJ
- 8 “Books Which are Necessary for Them”: Reconstructing a Jesuit Missionary Library in Wales and the English Borderlands, ca. 1600–1679 110
Hannah Thomas
- 9 Luis De Granada’s Mission to Protestant England: Translating the Devotional Literature of the Spanish Counter-Reformation 129
Alexandra Walsham
- 10 Persons’ Displeasure: Collaboration and Design in *Leicester’s Commonwealth* 155
Victor Houliston
- 11 Goslicius’ Englished Senator: An Anatomy of Manipulative Translation 167
Teresa Batuk-Ulewiczowa

PART 3

Crossing National Borders of Censorship

- 12 A Cosmopolitan Book: Edmund Campion’s *Rationes Decem* 185
Gerard Kilroy
- 13 Lay Catholic Book Ownership and International Catholicism in Elizabethan England 217
Earle Havens
- 14 Richard Verstegan as a Publicist of the Counter-Reformation: Religion, Identity and Clandestine Literature 263
Marcin Polkowski

Preface

The inauguration of the long-awaited Gdańsk Shakespeare Theatre in 2014 was a great event for the theatre world. It reminded everyone of the long history of English – Polish cultural relations: the new theatre was built on the site of the only Shakespearian playhouse to have been constructed outside England during the Bard's lifetime. At the turn of the sixteenth century and in the early seventeenth century, English acting troupes came to Gdańsk, then one of the wealthiest cities in Europe, following the footsteps of English merchants who came to trade Polish wheat. Having received license from the City Council, the actors performed plays and impressed the burghers and the audiences of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth audiences with their acting skills. English actors travelled across Europe to reach a town made known to them by merchants and traders whom they met on their way. They travelled this far in hope of earning income and performing the plays in places other than London where the competition between theatre companies was growing. William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* unveils the realities of the life of English travelling acting companies. The Gdańsk Shakespeare Theatre is thus a worthy memorial to this long tradition of Shakespeare theatre performed in seventeenth century Gdańsk.

There were, however, other cultural routes, other books and theatres, which the Englishmen knew and visited. A lesser-known side of British and Polish historical relations is the presence of the English and Scottish Catholics in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. During the years of the Elizabethan settlement, British Catholics came to the Commonwealth to find a safe haven and support. English and Scottish Jesuits were amongst those who founded the first Jesuit Colleges in Poland and Lithuania. As the first-generation professors of the Academy of Vilnius they taught mathematics, astronomy, philosophy and theology. As these men travelled across the Continent to the Baltic Sea, they brought with them their stories recorded in their books, which would otherwise have been suppressed if not confiscated and sometimes burnt.

Prohibited books, subversive publishing and censorship in early modern Poland and England: these were the topics which an international group of scholars discussed on 24 – 26 of September 2014 in the Palace of Bishop Erazm Ciołek (1474–1522), royal secretary to Polish King Alexander Jagiellon (1461–1506), a distinguished bibliophile and illuminator of books. We are happy to present the fruit of these intensive days of debate and discussion to the

reader and take this opportunity to thank our patrons, the National Museum of Kraków and National Science Centre of Poland whose generous patronage under project number DEC 2011/01/D/HS2/03125, made both the conference and the present publication possible.

The Editors

List of Tables and Figures

Tables

- 8.1 A Comparative Table of the cwm and Holbeck Library Collections according to categories 119
- 11.1 A Comparative Table of the passage on Divine Justice in Goslicius' *De Optimo Senatore* (Venice, 1568) and *The Counsellor* (the Ogden MS./L1598) 173

Figures

- 4.1 *Mansio sapientiae coronata in triumphali Anroldi principis Angliae ad paternum solium...*, Mohylew 1732 48
- 4.2 *Vindemia Sanguinis, olim inter vites e Georgio principe Clarentiae ante autumnum aetatis ad sedandam honorum sitim ab Eduardo expressa...*, Vilnius 1731 49
- 4.3 *Rudnicki, Dominik* [?], *Vicarius Christi, semet ipsum pro nobis tradentis, Divus Albanus, pro hospite ultro se hostibus offerens ...*, Warszawa 1701 50
- 6.1 Title page of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł's *Hierosolymitana Peregrinatio* translated into Latin by Thomas Treter, printed in Braniewo in 1601 by Georg Schonfels 73
- 6.2 A portrait of the young Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, fol. b recto found in Martin Crusius' *Poematum graecorum libri duo*, printed in Basil in 1576 76
- 6.3 Title page of *Rationes decem*, Latin edition, printed in the Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Press in Vilnius in 1584 83
- 6.4 Title page of *Dziesięć dowodów* [Ten Disquisitions/theses], the Polish translation of Edmund Campion's *Rationes decem* by Polish Jesuit Piotr Skarga, printed in the Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Press in Vilnius in 1584 86
- 6.5 Title page of *Dziesięć mocnych dowodów* [Ten strong reasons], another Polish translation of Edmund Campion's *Rationes Decem* by Kasper or Gaspar Wilkowski, printed in the Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Press in Vilnius in 1584 89
- 8.1 Map of key locations in Wales 111
- 8.2 Map of the English Province of the Society of Jesus 113
- 9.1 "Of the miseries of this life": Luis de Granada, *Of prayer, and meditation. Wherein are contained fowertien devoute meditations for the seven daies of the weeke*, trans. Richard Hopkins, Paris: 1582, fol. 153v 137
- 9.2 Taking up the cross of Christ: Luis de Granada, *Of prayer, and meditation. Wherein are contained fowertien devoute meditations for the seven daies of the weeke*, trans. Richard Hopkins, Paris in 1582, title-page 139

- 12.1 Edmund Campion, *Rationes Decem* ([Stonor Park: Brinkley, 1581]), ARCR I. 135.1, Winchester copy (WN⁴): title page 186
- 12.2 Edmund Campion, *Rationes Decem* ([Stonor Park: Brinkley, 1581]), ARCR I. 135.1, Winchester copy (WN⁴).]: sig. A1v–A2r 191
- 12.3 Edmund Campion, *Rationes Decem* ([Stonor Park: Brinkley, 1581]), ARCR I. 135.1, Winchester copy (WN⁴): sig. K3v–K4r 198
- 12.4 Edmund Campion, *Rationes Decem* ([Stonor Park: Brinkley, 1581]), ARCR I. 135.1, Winchester copy (WN⁴): original parchment binding 202
- 12.5 Edmund Campion, *Rationes Decem* ([Stonor Park: Brinkley, 1581]), ARCR I. 135.1, Winchester copy (WN⁴), Winchester copy: lease to Bellamy family of Harrow 203

Notes on Contributors

Teresa Bela

is professor of English Literature at Tischner European University in Kraków. She had worked earlier – until her retirement in 2012 – at the Institute of English Studies of the Jagiellonian University. She is a literary historian whose interests are focused on the literature and culture of the earlier epochs, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Early Modern period. She is the author of the monograph *The Image of the Queen in Elizabethan Poetry* (Kraków, 1994) and co-author and co-editor of several textbooks and conference volumes. Her special interests include religious poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (she has published articles on English Metaphysical poets and on the work of William Cowper, among others).

Clarinda Calma

is assistant professor of American and British History and Culture at the Tischner European University in Kraków, Poland. She has published articles on the prose and poetry of Robert Southwell and John Donne as well as on the Polish Reception of Edmund Campion. She is principal investigator of the research project entitled, 'Subversive Publications and Seditious Publishing in Modern England and Poland: A Comparative Study' (2012–16) and co-principal investigator research project, 'Civic Education in Jesuit School Theatres of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Playbills in the Jesuit Archives of Vilnius, Rome and selected Polish Libraries' (2015–18), where she deals with the representation of Far East Asia in Jesuit school plays.

Earle Havens

is the William Kurrelmeyer Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts at the Sheridan Libraries, and adjunct assistant Professor, Department of History, Krieger School of Arts and Sciences, Johns Hopkins University. His scholarly work concentrates on the history of the book, in particular print and manuscript culture from the late Middle Ages to the middle of the eighteenth century. Dr. Havens' most recent research has focused on surreptitious printing, book smuggling, and scribal culture within the Roman Catholic underground in Elizabethan England and continental Europe; as well as research on the history of literary forgery in the early modern period. He is author of many publications on book culture such as *Commonplace Books: A History of Manuscripts and Printed Books from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century* (2001). In addition to his recent work, Dr. Havens serves as Principal Investigator on recently received grants

from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (2013–16) in support of an ongoing digital humanities initiative, ‘The Archaeology of Reading in Early Modern Europe,’ in collaboration with Co-Investigators, Lisa Jardine, Centre for the Studies of Lives and Letters, University College London and Anthony Grafton, Department of History, Princeton University.

Victor Houliston

is a professor of English Literature at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, with a long-standing association with Campion Hall, Oxford. He has published extensively on early modern English literature and history, with an emphasis on the early Jesuits. His work on Robert Persons includes a critical edition of *The Christian Directory* (1998) and a study of the printed works, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580–1610* (2007). He is currently the leader of a team preparing a multi-volume edition of Persons's Correspondence.

Gerard Kilroy

honorary visiting professor in the Department of English at University College London, is the author of *Edmund Campion: A Scholarly Life* (Ashgate, 2015). His other books are *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Ashgate, 2005) and an edition of *The Epigrams of Sir John Harington* (Ashgate, 2009). He has been part of the project investigating ‘Subversive Publications and Seditious Publishing in Modern England and Poland: A Comparative Study,’ and written articles on Sir John Harington's involvement in the distribution of subversive printed books and manuscripts, and on Sir Thomas Tresham's coded buildings and buried manuscripts.

Magdalena Komorowska

is assistant professor in the Faculty of Polish Studies of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. She is author of a monograph discussing editorial problems in the writings of the renowned Polish preacher and Jesuit, Piotr Skarga (1536–1612). She also was a part of a team working on a critical edition of Skarga's sermons. Her recent research, apart from scholarly editing, focuses on the history of printing in Poland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, especially on the milieu of book printers in Kraków.

Martin Murphy

a graduate of Cambridge University, is a fellow of the Royal Historical Society and a former research associate of the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. His published books and articles have been mainly concerned with

English and Irish connections with Spain. His monograph *St Gregory's College, Seville, 1592–1767* (Catholic Record Society, volume 73) appeared in 1992, and an extended Spanish-language version, *Ingleses de Sevilla* was published at Seville in 2012. His research into the activities of English and Scottish Jesuits in Poland began in the early 1990s when he was working as a teacher in Poland. His article on the Erasmian humanist Leonard Cox, an influential figure in early sixteenth century Krakow, is to be published later this year in *Humanistica Lovaniensia*.

Mirosława Hanusiewicz-Lavallee

is professor and chair of the Department of Early Modern Polish Literature at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Poland, an editor of a journal *Roczniki Humanistyczne* and a member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences. She is the author of books and articles on Polish sixteenth and seventeenth-century amorous literature in European context including *Świat podzielony. O poezji Sebastiana Grabowieckiego* [A Divided World. On the Poetry of Sebastian Grabowiecki] (1994), *Święte i zmysłowe w poezji religijnej polskiego baroku* [The Holy and the Sensuous in the Religious Poetry of the Polish Baroque] (1998), *Pięć stopni miłości. O wyobraźni erotycznej w polskiej poezji barokowej* [Five degrees of Love. On the Erotic Imagination of Polish Baroque Poetry] (2004), (ed.) *Humanitas i christianitas w kulturze polskiej* [Humanitas and Christianitas in Polish Culture] (2009).

Thomas M. McCoog, SJ

was archivist of the British Province of the Society of Jesus (London) for 21 years. For 10 years, he was Director of Publications at the Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome. The author of numerous books and articles on English Jesuits, the most recent of which is *"And touching our Society": Fashioning Jesuit Identity in Elizabethan England* (Toronto, 2013), he is currently Curator of the Avery, Cardinal Dulles Archives, and visiting lecturer at Fordham University (New York).

Marcin Polkowski

is associate professor at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin and Chair of Dutch Language and Literature is the author of several books on the subject of on Dutch literature and culture, including: *A Struggle for Survival. The Continuity of Catholic Religious Literature in Holland: The Example of Delft (1450–1650)* (Lublin, 2012), and of *Images for a Lover's Eye: Sonnets from Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft's Emblemata amatoria and their European poetic lineage* (Lublin, 2010), and of articles from the field of literary history and comparative literature. His fields of interest also include medieval and early-modern

religious literature and is currently completing a collection of Middle Dutch exempla.

Jolanta Rzegocka

is associate professor of English and American Culture and Literature at the Jesuit University Ignatianum University in Kraków, Poland. She has published articles on early modern theatre and history of drama. She is currently working on Jesuit playbills from the Jesuit Province of Poland-Lithuania in the context of civic virtues and values as co-principal investigator of the research project 'Civic Education in Jesuit School Theatres of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Playbills in the Jesuit archives of Vilnius, Rome and selected Polish Libraries.' She is also co-principal investigator of the project 'Subversive Publications and Seditious Publishing in Modern England and Poland: A Comparative Study,' where she dealt with English recusant themes in the Polish-Lithuanian Jesuit school theatre and productions of plays by Edmund Campion in Poland-Lithuania. Her research interests include vernacular Biblical drama, playtexts and performance records, early modern performance culture in Poland and modern Central European literature.

Hannah Thomas

is a qualified archivist and early modern historian, specialising in post-Reformation Catholicism in the British Isles. Her PhD (Swansea University, 2014) analysed the extensive Welsh Jesuit missionary library in Hereford and beyond, and its links with the national and international Catholic community. Hannah is currently the holder of a post-doctoral fellowship at the Centre for Catholic Studies, Durham University, and is interested in the survival of religious communities and their links with the Catholics to whom they ministered, as well as their uses of large collections of appropriate reading material.

Teresa Batuk-Ulewicz owa

is a freelance translator and retired lecturer at the Institute of English Studies of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. She has published widely on translation studies, untranslatability, Renaissance studies, Polish-English cultural relations, political science. She is author of *Goslicius' Ideal Senator and his Cultural Impact over the Centuries: Shakespearean Reflections* published in Kraków in 2009.

Alexandra Walsham

is professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of Trinity College and the British Academy. She has published extensively on

the religious and cultural history of early modern Britain and her recent books include *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011), joint-winner of the Wolfson History Prize, and *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Ashgate, 2014). She currently holds a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship to work on a new project on 'The Reformation of the Generations: Age, Ancestry and Memory in England 1500–1700.'

Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba

is assistant professor in the Faculty of Polish Studies at the Jagiellonian University, Krakow. She is the author of *Czcionką i piórem. Jan Januszowski w roli pisarza i tłumacza*, 2007 [Jan Januszowski – Printer, Writer, Translator] and *Sygnety drukarskie w Rzeczypospolitej XVI wieku. Źródła ikonograficzne i treści ideowe*, 2016 [Printers' Devices in 16th century Poland-Lituania. Iconographical Sources and Symbolism].

By Way of Introduction: National Bibliography and Collective Catalogues of Printed Material Produced in the First Centuries of Print in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba

Most compendia presenting the history of Europe, including those about book, print, and media history, can be studied without being aware that the Central and Eastern lands of the continent were fully a part of Europe's economic and cultural system in the early modern era. Poland, or rather the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, is no exception here. While many factors contribute to this distorted perception, the two most important are the linguistic barriers and the inheritance of World War II followed by half a century of Communist rule, when cultural relations with the West were almost completely suspended. We also face the obstacle that the majority of research material for the communication and cultural history in the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was produced in Latin and in Polish. Nevertheless, and notwithstanding these cultural and practical difficulties, it is time to consider the study of the country's book production and its library collections as integral to the history of European book.

I would like to propose a short presentation on the current state of bibliographical research in Poland, specifically focussed on books printed in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between the invention of printing and the end of the eighteenth century. I am not going to outline the history of Polish bibliography or to discuss its relationship to other disciplines such as, for example, book history.¹ This overview will only aim at suggesting research opportunities concerning early printed books produced

1 For the history of bibliography in Poland see e.g.: Józef Korpała, *Dzieje bibliografii w Polsce* (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Bibliotekarzy Polskich, 1969); Marta Skalska-Zlat, *Bibliografia w Polsce 1945–1996. Naukoznawcza analiza dyscypliny* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002), pp. 93–97. For a very brief historical account and the explanation how historical circumstances influenced bibliographical research in Poland see: Jan Pirożyński, 'Einige Aspekte der kulturwissenschaftlichen Rolle der retrospektiven Bibliographie in Polen aus historischer Perspektive,' *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1998, pp. 286–294.

in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as well as printed material in Polish library collections for those broadly interested in the history of European communications.

Polish Collections of Early Printed Books. What is There to Look for?

Naturally, the large part of collections of early printed books in contemporary Poland consists of imprints produced in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. However, since the past centuries have seen an energetic movement and exchange of books, both cross-cultural and cross-border, imprints produced outside the Commonwealth can also be found in the libraries and museums in the country.

Printed materials produced in the workshops of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are interesting, it seems, not only for scholars concentrating specifically on the cultural history of the region, but for those studying, for example, the dense system of trade routes and intellectual connections that linked European lands. The Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania joined by virtue of the political Union of Lublin of the two nations in 1569 were very much part of that system, especially up to the 1650s and later, in the Enlightenment, albeit at that time on a smaller and rather more elitist scale. Printing was introduced into the Kingdom of Poland as early as 1473 and the presses continued to flourish both in Kraków, the royal capital of the multinational state, and in other locations from that point forward.² The local book industry was less developed compared to the print culture of Italy, the Netherlands or France. Nevertheless, it played a vital role in the economy of print in Central and Eastern Europe.

As well as being a production centre, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth also constituted an important market for books. Attesting to this are, for example, booksellers' inventories that reflect the quantities of books the merchants were dealing with.³ Since the local demand for books was far greater

2 It is estimated that in the sixteenth century some 7000 editions were printed in the territory occupied by the realms of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Miejsce książki w kulturze polskiej XVI wieku,' in Andrzej Wyczański (ed.), *Polska w epoce Odrodzenia. Państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1986), p. 425.

3 E.g. the inventory of Jan Thénau compiled in 1582 mentions 2,262 titles in 6,552 copies, and the one of Zacheusz Kessner, dated 1602, informs of about 15,500 copies of 5,300 titles. Both

than the regional production, the booksellers imported and distributed books that were produced in Europe's leading printing domains. Some of these books were brought to the country over the past centuries and survived the storms of history in local collections. As a result, today in the libraries and museums in Poland researchers can find rare and even unique items produced all over Europe, some of them unknown to the compilers of the major national bibliographies as those are usually based on the largest catalogued collections in the countries in question.

Bibliographical Tools

Of the many bibliographies and catalogues dealing with early printed material produced in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the books preserved in the libraries in Poland two deserve special mention as good starting points: *Bibliografia polska* [The Polish Bibliography] by Karol Estreicher and '*Centralny katalog starych druków*' [The union catalogue of early printed books] in the Biblioteka Narodowa [The National Library] in Warsaw.

The *Bibliografia polska* by Karol Estreicher is a 60-volume bibliographical repertoire, a revered and well-known work found in many university and research libraries worldwide. Volumes 12–34, *Bibliografia polska XV–XVIII stulecia*, the so called *Bibliografia staropolska* are devoted to books produced from the advent of printing to the end of the eighteenth century. Volume 12, the first in the series, was published in 1891 with others following in subsequent years. The *Bibliografia staropolska* orders editions alphabetically, offering excellent, detailed descriptions of books Estreicher and his heirs inspected personally in various institutional and private libraries, though their efforts were less thorough for those imprints whose copies the bibliographers did not have a chance to see. *Bibliografia polska* by Estreicher lists '*polonica*,' that is imprints (a) produced in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, (b) written in Polish but published elsewhere, (c) written by a local author, or (d) in the broadest sense: imprints about the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, dedicated to the country's kings, nobles etc. Such a broad definition of the contents and terms was first proposed by Karol Estreicher, whose *Bibliografia polska* was not only a scholarly work, but also a patriotic and political

booksellers were based in Kraków. See: Archiwum Narodowe in Kraków, 'Advocatalia Cracoviensia,' 200, pp. 77–133, 819–821; Archiwum Narodowe in Kraków, 'Advocatalia Cracoviensia,' 226, pp. 1631–1796; See: Monika Jaglarz, *Księgarstwo krakowskie w XVI wieku* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 2004), pp. 65–75.

manifesto conceived at the time when the Poles faced the hardships of Russification and Germanization that followed the partitions of Poland.⁴

A digital facsimile of the *Bibliografia staropolska* has been available online for some years at http://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/baza_estreichera/skany.php, whilst the facsimile may be used with the help of an online index <http://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/staropolska/indeks.html>.

After typing in the search phrase, users are directed to what they are looking for and can also see the relevant scanned pages. The team now working to digitalise Estreicher's bibliography has also started using its content to create a searchable database.⁵ The database is growing continuously and at the moment it encompasses the data from volumes of *Bibliografia polska XV–XVIII stulecia* available at <http://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/staropolska/baza.html>. When completed, the database will certainly facilitate retrieval of information stored in the bibliography of *polonica* covering the fifteenth up to the eighteenth centuries. It must be noted here, however, that the aim of the project is only to digitalise the content of Estreicher's work, which means that there is a non-critical acceptance of the data contained in the existing volumes. Estreicher's *Bibliografia polska*, as a whole, and *Bibliografia staropolska*, in particular, is of course an impressive enterprise, especially given the fact that the work was started in the second half of the nineteenth century and the greatest part of it was created by a single man, who had to move around the three geographical areas to which the partitioned Poland belonged to at the time, the Prussian Empire, the Russian Empire and the Austrian-Hungarian Empire.⁶ It remains an indispensable research tool for anyone studying the history and culture of

4 For later discussions about the *polonicum* concept see e.g. Kazimierz Piekarski, 'Zadania bibliografii polskiej XVI stulecia,' in *IV Zjazd bibliotekarzy Polskich w Warszawie: Referaty* (Warsaw: Przegląd Biblioteczny i Warszawskie Koło Związku bibliotekarzy Polskich, 1936), pp. 327–335; Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Problèmes actuels de la bibliographie nationale rétrospective en Pologne,' in Helena Hleb-Koszańska etc. (eds.), *Conférence Internationale de Bibliographie* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1961), pp. 49–63; Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Nad uzupełnieniami Bibliografii polskiej Estreichera,' in Maria Lenartowicz etc. (eds.), *Z problemów bibliografii* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1970), pp. 195–219; Pirożyński, 'Einige Aspekte,' pp. 289–292.

5 Centrum Badawcze Bibliografii Polskiej Estreicherów hosted by Uniwersytet Jagielloński in Kraków. <http://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/>.

6 Karol Estreicher was virtually working on his own, being later followed by his son Stanisław and grandson Karol. After World War II the centre to complete *Bibliografia polska* was created in the Jagiellonian University, but it has never worked as efficiently as the Estreichers themselves. The volume covering the letter Z of *Bibliografia staropolska* was almost ready in 1939, but the last volume of the series has only been published recently.

Eastern and Central Europe. The *Bibliografia polska* is a comprehensive listing of publications, since Estreicher searched as widely as he could. But the repertoire of information in it, particularly in the earliest volumes, is based on research conducted under very difficult historical circumstances, and it inevitably missed dispersed items, especially books located in libraries abroad. Many items listed no longer exist and many of those that have survived are kept now in libraries other than those mentioned by Estreicher. These differences occur owing to the dispersal or destruction of major Polish collections of printed books in the wars of the twentieth century. Because no attempt is made to correct the bibliography's entries or mark them as dated the content of the online database now being created does not incorporate the fruit of much specialised bibliographical work accomplished in the intervening 140 years.

This slow progress and of the absence of a clear bibliographical policy of incorporating more recent bibliographical research is particularly worrying with regard to the books printed in the Kingdom of Poland. When it comes to the Lithuanian printed works the situation is much better thanks to the efforts of Daiva Narbutienė and Sigitas Narbutas who over a decade ago published their catalogue of Latin Lithuanian books.⁷ In their research the Lithuanian scholars made use not only of the *Bibliografia polska*, but also of various published and unpublished bibliographies and catalogues which enriched the volume they created. They also retrieved information from the Centralny Katalog Starych Druków [the union catalogue of early printed books] in the National Library in Warsaw. It is a tool essential for all research using early printed materials produced in the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as early printed books now in Polish collections.

The Catalogue of Early Printed Books in the Biblioteka Narodowa [the National Library] in Warsaw

In the early 1930s an attempt was made in the National Library to address the deficiencies of Estreicher's bibliography by creating a new union catalogue of *polonica* printed before 1801. In 1939 this catalogue, created by Kazimierz Piekarski and his team, registered more than 80,000 copies of books. This valuable research tool was destroyed entirely when the Nazi German army nearly obliterated Warsaw in 1944. In the 1950s the work started again, initiated by

⁷ Daiva Narbutienė, Sigitas Narbutas, *xv–xvi a. Lietuvos lotyniškų knygų sąrašas* (Vilnius: 2002). See also Daiva Narbutienė, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos lotyniškoji knyga xv–xvii a.* (Vilnius: 2004).

Piekarski's disciple, Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa.⁸ Beginning first with the incunabula, the research team conducted a global survey of publications produced in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until the end of the eighteenth century, that is early printed books in Polish or by Polish authors published abroad. The attempt has also been made to register all foreign early printed books kept in the libraries in present-day Poland, so that the union catalogue also provides valuable information about books produced outside the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that are now in the Polish collections – even if this data should be regarded as provisional.

The union catalogue project bases its content on Estreicher's bibliography, published catalogues of the most important early book collections in Poland, and the data from card catalogues shared with the union catalogue team by a number of libraries and museums. Together all this incorporates data from 110 collections in Poland, and about 50 collections abroad.⁹

The catalogue lists both editions with extant copies, as well as, for Polish imprints, a number of titles and editions of books that were known to have existed but have since perished, and leave no trace in contemporary collections. The descriptions of particular editions vary. Some are detailed and reliable, some very basic and fragmented. The catalogue has been amended over the years, even if this has not been done on a regular basis, and it contains a vast amount of data. Of course, there are still editions and books to be discovered, especially in the monastic collections in Eastern and Central Europe.

Today the union catalogue in the Biblioteka Narodowa [the National Library of Poland] consists of about 900,000 cards, but many of those cards contain information about numerous copies of the same title, sometimes even 10 or more. Therefore the librarians who work in the rare book collections in the National Library admit they are unable to tell how many editions and copies are registered in the catalogue. In general terms the union catalogue is thought to be a nearly complete register of early printed Polish books produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is less complete with regard to eighteenth-century Polish imprints and foreign early printed material now in the Polish collections. Only incunabula have been carefully inventoried.

Printed materials registered in the union catalogue come in seven groups, separately ordered alphabetically: (1) Incunabula in present-day Poland, (2) Polonica printed in the sixteenth century, (3) Polonica printed in the seventeenth

8 Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Badania nad dawną książką w Bibliotece Narodowej,' *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 14 (1980), pp. 31–44.

9 Maria Zychowiczowa, *Centralny katalog starych druków w Bibliotece Narodowej w Warszawie* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1995).

and eighteenth centuries, (4) Foreign prints of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in present-day Poland, (5) Newspapers and journals, (6) Calendars of the fifteenth up to eighteenth centuries, (7) Cyrillic imprints of the fifteenth up to eighteenth centuries.¹⁰

Although the union catalogue is a rich repository of bibliographical material it has its drawbacks. It can be called only partly complete and over the last fifteen to twenty years its content has not been updated on a regular basis. However, even with regard to its richest and most complete parts such as Polish prints produced between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is the catalogue's form that poses a most serious obstacle to its systematic study. It is, of course, made available to researchers on a generous basis, but to retrieve information from it one must either travel to Warsaw, or request help from the librarians there. Bibliographical surveys in the catalogue on behalf of readers are being performed by the special collection librarians of the National Library. In order to ask for their help with the union catalogue, one is expected to contact the staff via email at stardruk.ck@bn.org.pl.

Although consulting the union catalogue with the help of librarians at the National Library works well for single queries, it is quite challenging to conduct a more systematic bibliographical research in this old-fashioned way at the time of online resources, such as online library catalogues and databases.

Conclusions

In Poland technological advances in recent years have produced a number of library catalogues and a selection of early printed texts available online in digital facsimile.

However, there remains a lot to be done. For example, scholars need a truly comprehensive listing of printed books published in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the invention of printing to the end of the eighteenth century. Most critical for the scholarship is a short title catalogue of books issued between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, which would include printed material in the vernaculars spoken in the multinational and

10 Almost 6,000 editions of incunabula in more than 21,000 copies plus 2349 editions in 4610 copies were lost during the WWI. The incunabula catalogue has been published as: Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa etc (eds.), *Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1970–1994). With respect to printed works this contains information on about 12,000 editions (including more than 2,000 for which no copy exists today) in about 44,000 copies.

multilingual state, but produced abroad, and, if the Polish bibliographical traditions were to be followed, books of Polish authors published outside the Commonwealth, regardless of the language of edition. The publication of such a short title catalogue should result in the creation of a searchable database, which would gather information about editions and variants, and also copy specific information such as, for example, provenances and bindings.¹¹ Given the existence of the union catalogue in the National Library in Warsaw, such a project should harmonise bibliographical material accumulated by this resource to date and integrate it with recent developments in bibliography, book history and digital humanities. A provision of such an online resource would make it possible to start a new generation of analytical studies devoted to different aspects of communication history in Central and Eastern Europe, since in this case, digitalisation would certainly mean enrichment. It would also encourage a more complete understanding of the world of the European early printed book, the exchange of ideas, and the history of cultural transfer.

11 Perhaps less urgent, but also important, would be a creation of a catalogue of early modern books produced outside the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but kept today in the libraries in Poland.

PART 1

*English Recusant Presence in the Print Culture of
the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*

∴

Recusant Prose in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century

Mirosława Hanusiewicz-Lavallee

During the first decades after the Council of Trent, the writings of English Catholics played a significant role in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, mostly by influencing the discourse of both controversial theology and martyrological literature. These two types of discourse, sometimes intermingled, helped strengthen each other's credibility. While some of the texts presented a terrifying image of England as an intolerant and cruel state ruled by a heretic monarch, other texts provided useful theological arguments to arm Polish Catholics in their controversies with local Protestants, especially Calvinists. English Catholic literature, translated, printed and disseminated mostly by Jesuits, was an instrument to overcome the passivity of the Catholic majority in the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, who did not see any threat in its traditionally multi-religious and multi-denominational structure and had grown accustomed to the coexistence of Catholics, Orthodox Christians, Jews, Muslims, Karaites and Protestants.¹ Recusant prose which provided the example of a country which experienced the deadly results of a triumphant heresy, was meant to mobilize Polish and Lithuanian Catholics by showing the possible threats that could come – as the Fathers of the Society of Jesus strongly suggested – from the Statute of General Toleration proclaimed by the Confederation of Warsaw in 1573 and declaring equal rights and security for the gentry of all denominations. What could seem unclear or not entirely obvious within Polish or Lithuanian society was becoming distinct and evident when seen from the perspective of the tragic experiences of the English Church and thus served to reinforce the identity of the Catholic community – especially that of the Catholic laity – in the Commonwealth.

Protestants constituted the majority of the British immigrants in the Commonwealth, but by the end of the sixteenth century there was a growing number of Catholics, including young men who studied in Polish and Lithuanian Jesuit colleges and academies. Up until 1659, according to Peter Paul Bajer,

1 Judith Pollmann, 'How to Flatter the Laity? Rethinking Catholic Responses to the Reformation,' *The Low Countries Historical Review* 126-4 (2011), pp. 97–106.

there were 45 Scottish students in the college of Braniewo (Braunsberg) alone, founded by Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius (1504–1579).² Prior to 1620, the College of Braniewo was the most important Jesuit college for British Catholic youth, east of the Rhine.³ Moreover, many English and Scottish names can also be found in the registers of the Academy of Vilnius. Whilst some of those students joined the Jesuits, others were not so enthusiastic. A Scottish condottiere, Patrick Leopold Gordon from Aberdeenshire, who had been sent by his Catholic parents to Braniewo in 1651, was an example of a youth who was not very keen on books, as he wrote in his excellent memoirs.⁴

Here being at my studies in the Colledge of the Jesuits, albeit I wanted not for any thing, the Jesuits alwayes bestowing extraordinary paines, and takeing great care in educateing youth, yet could not my humor endure such a still and strict way of living.

After three painful years in the college, Gordon escaped and embarked on a brilliant military career that ended in Moscow in 1699. In spite of serving mostly under Swedish and Russian commanders, he remained a Catholic until the day of his death.

English and Scottish Jesuits contributed a great deal to organizing the Jesuit education system in the Commonwealth and creating an academic milieu in Braniewo, Vilnius or Poznań.⁵ The oldest of them, like Robert Abercromby (1536–1613) and Adam Brock (1542–1605), were educated at British universities, while others, like Richard Singleton, Griffin Floyd (active in years 1593–1625) or James Bosgrave (1547–1623), graduated from Catholic academic institutions on the continent.⁶ They were distinguished by their admirably dynamic spirit and mobility, eagerness to learn a new culture and a difficult language, in which at

2 Peter P. Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 16th–18th Centuries: The Formation and Disappearance of an Ethnic Group* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 159.

3 David Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions of Central Europe, ca. 1560–1688* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), p. 159.

4 *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchreis. A.D. 1635–A.D. 1699* (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1859), p. 7.

5 In the sixteenth century there were at least 14 of them plus 6 in the seventeenth century. James A. Lenaghan, 'The Sweetness of Polish Liberty. Sixteenth-Century British Jesuit Exiles to Poland-Lithuania,' *Reformation* 15 (2010), pp. 133–150.

6 Martin G. Murphy, 'Robert Abercromby, SJ (1536–1613) and the Baltic Counter-Reformation,' *The Innes Review* 50 (1999) no 1, pp. 58–75; Lenaghan, 'The Sweetness of Polish Liberty,' pp. 139–142.

least some of them succeeded. There remains no evidence however of any of them ever trying to teach English to their Polish and Lithuanian students.

Some of those British Jesuits became authors of books published usually at college printing houses. A few of these works served as teaching manuals, like the *Assertationes theologicae et philosophicae in Collegio Vilnensi Societatis Iesu, sub renovationem autumnalem defendendae* published in Kraków in 1574, written by John Hay and grounded in Scotist philosophical propositions.⁷ Others were meant to contribute to religious controversies. The best examples of this were numerous writings by Laurence Arthur Faunt (1554–1591), the uncle of the famous Robert Burton.⁸ Faunt, who taught mostly in Poznań, published

7 John Hay was the author of another philosophical work, unknown today, but mentioned in one of Stanisław Warszewicki's (Varsevicius) letters. Manuscript notes of Richard Singleton's, the first English professor of philosophy in Braniewo, survived and were studied by Roman Darowski, 'Ryszard Singleton SJ (1566–1602) – pierwszy profesor filozofii w Braniewie,' *Studia Philosophiae Christianae* 17 (1981) no 2, pp. 41–56. See also Darowski, 'Pierwsi arystotelicy wileńscy,' *Analecta Cracoviensia* 12 (1980), pp. 174–180.

8 His works were as follows: *Apologia libri sui de invocatione ac veneratione sanctorum, contra falsas Danielis Tossani, theologiae calvinianae professoris Heidelbergensis, criminationes* (Cologne: Birckmann, 1589), *Assertiones rhetoricae ac philosophicae, quae in Collegio Posnaniensi Soc. Iesu Anno 1582 in solenni studiorum innovatione disputandae proponuntur* (Poznań: J. Wolrab, 1582), *Assertationes theologicae de Christi terris ecclesia* (Poznań: J. Wolrab, 1582), *Coenae Lutheranorum et Calvinianorum oppugnationis ac Catholicae Eucharistiae defensio* (Poznań: J. Wolrab, 1586), *Coenae Lutheranorum et Calvinianorum oppugnationis ac Catholicae Eucharistiae defensionis pars altera: De augustissimae missae sacrificio* (Poznań: J. Wolrab, 1586), *Assertationes theologicae ac vocatione ministrorum Lutheranorum et Calvinianorum* (Poznań: J. Wolrab, 1590), *De Christi in terris Ecclesia, quatenus, et penes quos existat* (Poznań: J. Wolrab, 1584), *De controversiis inter ordinem ecclesiasticum et secularem in Polonia [...] tractatio* (N.p. 1587, 2nd ed. 1592, 3rd ed. 1632), *Disputatio theologica de D. Petri et Romani Pontificis successoris eius in Ecclesia Christi principatum* (Poznań: J. Wolrab, 1583), *Doctrina Catholica de sanctorum invocatione et veneratione per theses explicata* (Poznań: J. Wolrab, 1584), *Refutatio descriptionis coenae Dominicae a Daniele Tossano, professore Heidelbergense, contra Librum oppugnationis coenae Calvinianae et Lutheranae eiusdem Fauntei editae* (Poznań: J. Wolrab, 1590). Arthur Faunt was the son of William Faunt of Lancaster and brother of Dorothy Faunt who married Ralph Burton. The couple's son was Robert Burton, the author of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. The first biographical and bibliographical information concerning Faunt and his output was published in Pedro Ribadeneira, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu* (Antwerp: Joannes Meursius, 1643), p. 294. These sources were explored by Faunt's nephew, William Burton, who wrote about him with the greatest respect: "He was a man of great learning, gravity and wisdom, and for his religious life held in great esteem, both with spiritual and temporal states." Cf. *Proposals for Printing by Subscription. A New Edition of the Description of the Leicestershire Containing Matters of Antiquity, History, Armory, and Genealogy* (Lynn: W. Whittingham, 1777), p. 98.

10 of his 11 books there and specialized in controversies against the Calvinists. In his treatises Faunt discussed the sacraments of the Eucharist and priesthood, the primacy of the pope, *notae Ecclesiae*, the intercession of saints, and the veneration of images. But of all his works, it is the *De controversiis inter ordinem ecclesiasticum et secularem in Polonia* which brought him probably the most fame as it was reprinted several times. This work shows the author's impressive knowledge of Polish political history and law, deals mostly with the problem of tithe and the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, the rights notoriously challenged by the Polish Protestant noblemen. However, that debate raised the larger question of whether Protestants should even exercise political liberties in the Commonwealth, as it would mean that they could potentially seize power in the state, as they had in England. Faunt also achieved some degree of international fame by getting involved in controversies with such influential Protestant theologians as Antoine de Chandieu (1534–1591), Daniel Tossanus and Zacharias Schilter (1541–1604).⁹ He enjoyed great respect among the Polish clergy and in 1589 was invited as a guest to the synod of Piotrków where he was asked to preach during the Holy Mass inaugurating the debates. His sermon, concerning the reasons of heresy and ways of fighting it, was printed anonymously as *Oratio habita in Synodo Petricoviensi Provinciali de causis et remediis haereseon*.¹⁰ Both his writings and other sources show Faunt as an author deeply convinced of the responsibility of secular authorities for fighting heresy and endorsing their use of direct force.¹¹

Cardinal Stanislas Hosius and the 'Louvain School of Apologetics'

The very presence of the English and the Scots in Polish and Lithuanian colleges aroused some interest in the religious affairs of the kingdom abroad, but

-
- 9 See Antoine Sadeel, *Posnaniensium assertionum de Christi in terris Ecclesia, quatenus et penes quos existat, propositarum in Collegio Posnaniensi a monachis novae Societatis, quam illi Societatem Jesu, non sine blasphemia, nominant... refutatio* (Genève: J. le Preux, 1591); Sadeel, *Ad Tres libros Laurentii Arturi, quos inscripsit de Ecclesia Christi in Terris, seu Apologia assertionum Posnaniensium de Ecclesia, brevis et perspicua responsio, quae sit tanquam Appendix ad... refutationem earundem assertionum*, (Genève: J. le Preux, 1592); Daniel Tossanus, *Disputationes duae contra Laurentium Arturum, Iesuitam Posnanensem, prior de S. Coena Evangelica, altera de superstitiosa et idolatrica veneratione sanctorum* (Heidelberg: H. Mayer, 1590).
- 10 Michał Morawski, *Synod piotrkowski w roku 1589* (Włocławek: Drukarnia Diecezjalna, 1937), p. 20.
- 11 Wacław Sobieski, *Nienawiść wyznaniowa tłumów za rządów Zygmunta III* (Warszawa: P. Laskauer, W. Babicki, 1902), pp. 85–86.

in the 1560s and 1570s the social sensitivity to the problems of the Catholics from Britain was particularly strengthened by the personal involvement and activities of Cardinal Stanislas Hosius (1504–1579). His biographer, Stanisław Reszka (1544–1600), described this dedication as follows:

Those who in England...were incarcerated because of their Christian faith or under guard, or expelled from their lands and deprived of their fortunes, he listened to, and when they were sentenced, comforted with his letters, supported with his money, invited to his home. Similarly with the Catholic preachers who bravely preached words of truth, he supported them both with his property and counsel, and strengthened their judgements with his most learned letters.¹²

In the early 1560s Hosius' attention was drawn to the talented Oxford graduate, Nicholas Sander (1530–1581), who first accompanied the Cardinal during the sessions of the Council in Trent, then went with him to Poland and Prussia.¹³ Around 1565, Sander took leave of his patron, travelling to Louvain where he became a leader of the "Louvain School of Apologetics" in what is now known as the "Great Controversy."¹⁴ It was no doubt Sander himself who inspired two English translations of Hosius' works shortly after his arrival in Louvain: *The Hatchet of Heresies* (in Latin, *De origine haeresium nostri temporis*) by Richard Shacklock (d. ca. 1588) printed in Antwerp in 1565, and the treatise *Of the Expresse Worde of God* (in Latin, *De expresso Dei verbo*), by the young Thomas Stapleton (1535–1598) published in Louvain in 1567. The prefaces to

12 "Quos in Anglia...propter confessionem Christianae fidei in carcerem vel in custodiam compactos vel loco motos, fortunisque spoliatos audiebat, eos epistolic datis consolabatur, pecuniam submittebat, ad se invitabat. Concionatores itidem catholicos, qui cum libertate verbum veritatis loquebantur, et re, et consilio iuvabat, et in proposita sententia doctissimis epistolis confirmabat." Stanisław Reszka, *Stanisłai Hosii S.R.E. cardinalis...vita* (Roma: Zanetti-Rufinelli, 1587), p. 137. See also: "Ex torres a patria sua episcopos, eiectos ex Anglia, Germania, Gallia sacerdotes in domum suam benignissime colligebat, liberalissime tractabat; opera, consilio, re iuvabat quos poterat, et omnium sibi animos, omnibus modis et rationibus ex intima arte hospitalitatis depromptis adiungere contendebat." (ibid., p. 135). English translation: "The bishops forced away from their homeland, the priests driven from England, Germany, France he gathered in his house in the most courteous way, treated them in the noblest manner, supported whoever he could with his works, counsel and property, and because of his deep sense of hospitality was striving with all manners and ideas to bind them to himself."

13 John H. Pollen, 'Dr Nicholas Sander,' *The English Historical Review* 6 (1891) 21, p. 36.

14 A.C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559–1582* (London: Sands & Co., 1950), pp. 25–27; Thomas McNevin Veech, *Dr Nicholas Sanders and the English Reformation 1530–1581* (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1935), p. 85.

both books praise Hosius as an eminent theologian and a cardinal, but in Shacklock's work the praise also takes the form of an emblem which represents a figure of the Cardinal cutting a tree "of synfull doctrine" and – as the inscription says – making its 'sower,' Satan, run back to hell where he exhausts himself with "whipping Luther and Caluine."¹⁵ And indeed for the time being Hosius became one of the key adversaries of English Protestant authors. One such theological debate was first initiated by John Jewel's *An Apology for the Church of England* published in 1562, where "a Polish bishop, who has himself pronounced to be profound and eloquent scholar, and one of the most able and undaunted defender of his [the pope's] cause" was attacked for declaring in *De expresso Dei verbo* that "Scripture is but a creature, and mere bare letter."¹⁶ Hosius kept his role as one of the main opponents of English controversialists thanks to John Barthlet and his *Pedegrewe of Heretiques* printed in 1566, William Fulke, a divine from Cambridge, who published *Ad epistolam Stanislai Hosii Varmiensis Episcopi, de Expresso Dei verbo responsio* in 1578, and even John Foxe, who challenged Hosius in *De Christo gratis iustificante contra Osorianum iustitiam, caeterosque eiusdem inhaerentis iustitiae patronos, Stanislau Hosium, amica et modesta defensio* printed in 1583.

One of the English translators of Hosius' works was Thomas Stapleton, whose uncompromising theology gave him a close affinity with the Cardinal's own views and attitude. *Of the Expresse Worde of God* was his last book in English, but as his fame as an invincible controversialist grew, Stapleton's Latin works were gaining significant popularity in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹⁷ Copies of his *Promptuarium morale super evangelia dominicalia totius anni* printed in 1591, *Promptuarium catholicum*, Part I published in 1589, Parts I–II in 1592, Parts I–III in 1594 and *Principiorum fidei doctrinalium relectio scholastica et compendiaria* published in 1596 are not rarities in Polish libraries.¹⁸ Copies of the *Promptuaria catholica*, which was reprinted several times over the next two hundred years and recommended by synods in the

15 Richard Shacklock, *A Most Excellent Treatise of the Begynnyng of Heresy in Oure Tyme, Compyled by the Reuerend Father in God Stanislaus Hosius... The Hatchet of Heresy* (Antwerp: E. Diest, 1566), c. Ai v.

16 John Jewel, *The Apology for the Church of England*, trans. by S. Isaacson (London: John Hearne, 1825), pp. 131–132.

17 Marvin R. O'Connell, *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter-Reformation* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 61.

18 Wim François, 'Augustinus sanior interpres Apostoli. Thomas Stapleton and the Louvain Augustinian School's Reception of Paul,' in R. Ward Holder (ed.), *A Companion of Paul in the Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p. 369; François, 'Augustin and the Golden Age of Biblical Scholarship in Louvain (1550–1560),' in B. Gordon, M. McLean (eds.), *Shaping*

Netherlands as useful manuals for preachers, have been preserved in Poland both in their sixteenth and even eighteenth-century editions, which seems to confirm their usage as manuals in the Commonwealth too. We know for certain that Piotr Skarga (1536–1612), the most outstanding Polish Jesuit writer at the turn of the sixteenth century, in his vast collection of sermons *Kazania na niedziele i święta całego roku* [Sermons for Sundays and Feasts for the Entire year] printed in 1595 benefited significantly from both *Promptuaria Catholica* and *Promptuarium morale*, which he used predominantly as a source of arguments, quotations, images and examples.¹⁹ Skarga clearly did not have any intention of translating Stapleton's works into Polish and was mostly interested in their controversial content, so his dependence on *Promptuaria* becomes more obvious in passages against religious dissidents. Stapleton's homiletic works were most probably used on a much larger scale by other Polish authors, but no research has been conducted in this area so far.

Another Polish writer who profited from one of Stapleton's treatises is Andrzej Wargocki, who wrote *O Rzymie pogańskim i chrześcijańskim ksiąg dwoje* [On Pagan and Christian Rome in two books] printed in 1610, an early modern guidebook for pilgrims going to Rome. Wargocki spent fourteen years in the Society of Jesus and left the order probably because of some domestic conflict, developing a somewhat unfriendly attitude towards the Jesuits in his later years.²⁰ Consequently, it was hardly thanks to the Jesuits that Wargocki came across Stapleton's late work *Vere admiranda, seu de magnitudine Romanae Ecclesiae libri duo* printed in Rome along with a treatise of Iustus Lipsius *Admiranda, sive de magnitudine Romana libri quattuor* in 1600. A preface to the first and already posthumous edition of *Vere admiranda* published in 1599 says that Stapleton considered his book as a kind of emulation of the works written by "other erudites from Louvain" – which seems to be a clear allusion to the freshly converted Lipsius who had published his *Admiranda* a year earlier. Wargocki compiled both treatises and several other works, including *L'Antichita di Roma* by Andrea Palladio (1554), *De Urbis antiquitatibus* by Andrea Fulvio (1545), *Itinerarii Italiae rerumque Romanorum libri tres* by François Schott (1601) and

the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Their Readers in the Sixteenth Century (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 256–257.

- 19 Wanda Germain, 'Skarga i Stapleton (studium porównawcze)', *Przegląd Teologiczny* 3 (1922) no 4, pp. 302–327.
- 20 Hieronim E. Wyczawski, 'Wargocki Andrzej,' in Wyczawski (ed.), *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich* (Warszawa: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1983), iv. 386; Jacek Sokolski (ed.), *Andrzej Wargocki, O Rzymie pogańskim i chrześcijańskim ksiąg dwoje* (Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, 2011), pp. 13–14.

a popular work known as *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*.²¹ The Roman edition of Lipsius' and Stapleton's work inspired him however to divide his own book into two parts, concerning 'pagan' and 'Christian' Rome, and it is not surprising that *Vere admiranda* provided some material for that second part, beginning from Chapter XVII onwards. It is by no means a literal translation. Wargocki derived from Stapleton's treatise, especially from *Liber secundus*, the concepts for several chapters of his own, for instance II, 1 *Romanae Ecclesiae potestas in orbis principes etiam creandos*, II, 17 *Rzym chrześcijański króle świata dawa*, II, 4 *Romanae Ecclesiae potestas ad reges Ecclesiae noxios castigantos* II, 18 *Rzym chrześcijański króle świata tego karze*. He distilled some historical information, translated several rhetorically attractive passages, borrowed certain terms and expressions, but also built a text of his own, not so obtrusively apologetic and far more moderate in tone than Stapleton's original work.

Martyrological Literature

Martyrological literature seemed to be one of the best tools in shaping the identity of religious communities, of overcoming their passivity and mobilizing them against persecutors. Polish-Lithuanian Protestants produced their vast martyrological collection as early as 1567. *Historyja o srogim prześladowaniu Kościoła Bożego* [A History of the Cruel Persecution of the Church of God] was compiled by Cyprian Bazylik (1535–1600), a Calvinist writer from the circle of Duke Mikołaj 'the Black' Radziwiłł (1515–1565), from different sources, mostly from John Foxe's, Jean Crespin's and Heinrich Pantaleon's works. The first Catholic answer to that came from Piotr Skarga in 1579, with the first edition of his bestseller *Żywoty świętych Starego i Nowego Zakonu* [Lives of the Saints of the Old and New Testament] which included *Przydatek... o świętych męczennikach, którzy tych naszych wieków dla Chrystusa, prawdy i Kościoła Jego świętego cierpieli* [An addendum about those saint martyrs of our times, who suffered for Christ, truth and the Church]. Skarga, who quoted in the preface

21 Bronisław Biliński, 'Andrzej Wargocki e Giusto Lipsio: O Rzymie pogańskim i chrześcijańskim (1610) – Admiranda sive magnitudine Romana (1598),' in S. da Fanti (ed.), *Munera polonica et slavica Ricardo Casimiro Lewanski oblata* (Udine, Illeo, 1990), pp. 23–43; Biliński, *Figure e momenti polacchi a Roma. Strenna di commiato* (Wrocław, Ossolineum, 1992), pp. 33–144; Andrzej Litwornia, *W Rzymie zwyciężonym Rzym niezwyciężony. Spory o Wieczne Miasto 1575–1630* (Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, 2003, s. 24–56); Sokolski, *Andrzej Wargocki, O Rzymie pogańskim i chrześcijańskim ksiąg dwoje*, pp. 31–40, 177–275.

to the Addendum, *Przedmowa o męczennikach heretyckich* [Preface on Heretical Martyrs] whole passages of the sixth dialogue from Nicholas Harpsfield's *Dialogi sex contra summi pontificatus, monasticae vitae, sanctorum, sacrarum imaginum oppugnatores, et pseudomartyres*, not only introduced the debate over false and true martyrs, which was ongoing in England since Sir Thomas More's martyrdom, into Polish religious controversy, but also challenged Cyprian Bazylik's Protestant compilation:²²

Modern heretics published certain books celebrating their own companions as martyrs, ones like themselves or even worse, those who had been justly and rightly punished by orderly and God-ordained secular authorities because of their evildoings, destroying souls, lies, treasons, sacrileges, disobedience, rebellions, seditions.²³

The first part of the Addendum is concerned with English martyrs. In his work, which went through eight different editions in the author's lifetime, Skarga kept developing and supplementing the narrative about English martyrs, from the reign of Henry VIII to James I, finishing in the 1610 edition with the story of Henry Garnet. Skarga focuses mostly on Elizabethan persecutions, and in the first edition of 1579 his narrative relies on Nicholas Sander's *De visibili monarchia Ecclesiae libri octo* of 1571, but already in the second edition published in 1585, the Polish author refers to *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia* printed in 1583 by John Fenn and John Gibbons and revised and republished in 1588 by John Bridgewater. In subsequent editions, he includes the third book of *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani* by Sanders and Rishton, and even an account of Mary Stuart's execution, possibly the one by Robert Wynkefield ("the writing of one Calvinist who witnessed her death"). These works are not mere sources of information; Skarga of course offers different abridgements and compiles his own material, but he also simply translates large passages from *Concertatio Ecclesiae*, especially those concerning the martyrdom of Campion, Briant and Sherwin. The Polish writer definitely had access to some

22 Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002) pp. 18–71; Andrea Ceccherelli, *Od Suriusa do Skargi. Studium porównawcze o „Żywotach świętych”* (Izabelin: Świat Literacki, 2003), p. 102, 283. See also Thomas S. Freeman, 'Over their Dead Bodies: Concepts of Martyrdom in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern England' in Freeman and T.F. Mayer (eds.), *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England c. 1400–1700* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 1–34.

23 Piotr Skarga, *Żywoty świętych Starego i Nowego Zakonu* (Wilno: Drukarnia Radziwiłłowska, 1579), p. 1121. Unless mentioned otherwise, all English translations of Polish and Latin original texts are mine.

manuscript sources, as he acknowledges in the passage on the Gunpowder Plot and Henry Garnet (1555–1606):

There was an English manuscript, where Jesuits had not been mentioned, and another one translated into Latin, written and printed in London which we have here in Poland.... There was a manuscript from London, dated 7 November Anno Domini 1606, saying that this martyr is glorified with miracles.²⁴

We need to remember that in 1606, the Scottish Jesuit who had earlier worked in the Jesuit College of Braniewo, Robert Abercromby, came back to Poland after a sixteen year mission in Scotland, providing, without doubt, firsthand information about recent events. Skarga, who later served as the royal court preacher to Sigismund III Vasa (1566–1632) and was actively involved in providing support for English Jesuits, surely had access to unofficial information from political circles as well as from correspondence with other Jesuit fathers from abroad. As is confirmed in his letters, Skarga was insisting not only on the intervention of the Polish king and Hetman Jan Zamoyski (1542–1602) in favor of the imprisoned Henry Garnet, but as early as 1 August 1581 in a letter to Marcin Laterna (his influential predecessor at the office of royal court preacher) he mentioned efforts undertaken on behalf of the imprisoned Jesuits in England.²⁵

In August 1581, among the Jesuits imprisoned in England, was not only the famed Edmund Campion (1540–1581), but also James Bosgrave (1548–1623), Skarga's direct subordinate and fellow professor from Vilnius. The sad history of James Bosgrave has been thoroughly explored by Paweł Skwarczyński and recently by Thomas McCoog.²⁶ It is perhaps worthwhile to point out that a personal relationship with Bosgrave may have been the reason for Skarga's avid interest in the Jesuit mission of 1580 and its tragic consequences. In the 1585 edition of *Żywoty świętych* [Lives of the Saints], published when Skarga did not know yet that Bosgrave had just been released from prison, he mentioned him as a martyr condemned to death along with Campion and added such an intimate passage:

²⁴ Ibid., p. 114.

²⁵ Jan Sygański (ed.), *Listy Ks. Piotra Skargi z lat 1566–1610* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Jezusowego, 1912), p. 155.

²⁶ Paweł Skwarczyński, 'Elsinore 1580: John Rogers and James Bosgrave,' *Recusant History* 16 (1982), pp. 1–16; Thomas M. McCoog, 'Godly Confessor of Christ: The Mystery of James Bosgrave,' in M. Inglot, S. Obirek (eds.), *Jezuicka ars historica. Prace ofiarowane ks. prof. Ludwikowi Grzebieniowi SJ* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM – Ignatianum) 2001, pp. 355–375.

It was I who, following the order of our General, sent Bosgrave to this martyrdom during the time when I was his unworthy superior in Vilnius, where he had been teaching mathematics and – being an Englishman – had learned Polish quite well. I remember you, beloved brother, how you were asking me for a cloak I had brought from Italy, to give you for that trip, and how I was clothing you with it, and Christ was arming you and making you His witness.²⁷

This tender remark about the cloak disappeared in the next edition, replaced with brief information about Bosgrave's final release, but Skarga's deep interest in Campion, his mission and his martyrdom lasted much longer and inspired much literary activity.

The 1585 edition of Skarga's *Żywoty świętych* [Lives of the Saints] was not the first text informing Polish readers about Campion's mission. In 1582 the printing house of Jan Wolrab in Poznań published a book entitled *Okrucieństwo kacyrskie przeciw katolikom w Anglijej, krótko a prawdziwie przez jednego tegoż narodu opisane, a na polski język przełożone* [The Heretics' cruelty against the Catholics in England, shortly and truly described by one of that nation, and now translated into Polish]. I was able to establish that the Polish book is in fact an exact translation of Robert Persons' (1546–1610) *De persecutione Anglicana*, printed for the first time at the end of 1581 in Rouen, and then in 1582 in Paris, Rome and Ingolstadt.²⁸ Persons' work had been translated into several languages, French, Italian and English in the same year 1582, however the Polish translation was not known in the secondary literature.²⁹ The translation is anonymous, but there are reasons to suspect that it could have been done by Hieronim Powodowski (1543–1613), a canon priest from Poznań closely connected with the Jesuits who published many of his own works at Wolrab's printing house, which was closely connected to the Jesuit College in Poznań. It seems that the translator was closely assisted by someone well acquainted with the realities of English life, as we can deduce from the text. Once in a while the translator says, "as I am told," or provides precise explanations of Polish and English cultural differences, such as Polish currency equivalent of the English financial penalties for Catholics. The book was printed while Laurence

27 Skarga, *Żywoty świętych Starego i Nowego Zakonu* (Kraków: Drukarnia Andrzeja Piotrkowczyka, 1585), p. 1130.

28 Mirosława Hanusiewicz-Lavallee, 'La traduzione polacca del *De persecuzione anglicana* di Robert Persons,' *Europa Orientalis* 31 (2012), pp. 247–266.

29 A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers (eds.), *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation Between 1558 and 1640* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1989), I, no. 874–884.

Arthur Faunt was a professor in Poznań. Might he be the one who had inspired this translation?

Okrucieństwo kacyrskie has a very interesting framing text, consisting of a translator's preface and a translation of the eighth chapter of St Cyprian's *De Ecclesiae Catholicae unitate* found at the end of the book. These added elements transpose the narrative about English persecutions to a more general level and include both elements of theological controversy over true or false martyrs and references to the political situation of the Commonwealth. The condemnation of the English persecutions goes hand in hand with the condemnation of the Warsaw Confederation of 1573 that codified religious tolerance. The story about Calvinists persecuting Catholics is offered as a warning against Protestants gaining political power as in England, but also, as a justification of the use of preventive violence against them. In the sixteenth century the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth did not have its own martyrs, but a terrifying vision of English persecution and martyrdom was meant to bring the threat before the eyes of the gentry and strengthen their Catholic identity. Following St Cyprian, the author of the preface presents a notion of a 'true' martyr, who lives and dies in communion with the Church, and a 'false' one, who breaks that unity. Not only does the latter one deserve little or no compassion, but he also should be opposed by all means possible. The use of violence against him is an act of mercy:

Thus, the Church persecutes them because of her charity, while they persecute the Church because of their hatred; she does it to improve them, they do it to overthrow her, she does it to remove errors, they do it to pass them on to others.³⁰

The Polish translation of *De persecutione Anglicana* is based on an expanded version of the Latin original which already included the story of the arrest, torture and the execution of Edmund Campion and his companions. The story is, however, less detailed than the one based on Thomas Alfield's account, *A True Report of the Death and Martyrdome of M. Campion Jesuite and Preiste, and M. Sherwin, and M. Bryan preistes, at Tiborne* printed in London in 1582, which had been transmitted into further compilations and has turned out to be more influential in the hagiographic tradition.

As Anne Dillon has noted, copies of *De persecutione Anglicana* were printed on the orders of Claudio Acquaviva who had it distributed to Jesuit provinces

30 *Okrucieństwo kacyrskie przeciw katolikom w Anglijej, krótko a prawdziwie przez jednego tegoż narodu opisane, a na polski język przelożone* (n.p., 1582), c. A6v.

along with the Papal Bull *Omnipotens Deus*. The book was meant to stimulate the generosity of the Catholics on the continent during special collections to aid their English brothers suffering from serious financial penalties.³¹ In the Commonwealth it might have had a similar use. On 31 March 1583 the citizens of Elbląg (Elbing) wrote a letter to Queen Elizabeth:

Moreover we would have your Majesty know that the Papal legate, who is much at our King's court, is circulating letters of certain religious or priests of the Society of Jesus, complaining that they are most cruelly imprisoned in your Majesty's realm, and are afflicted for their religion's sake with grievous and exquisite tortures, as will be seen by the enclosed copy.... And so, since we consider the thing to be untrue and that your Majesty is wronged by complaints of this sort, we have thought best of certify you of the matter.³²

The *Rationes Decem* in the Commonwealth

English recusant prose – both controversial and martyrological – as I had earlier mentioned in this paper, was used as a means to overcome the passivity of the Catholics in the Commonwealth and to build the identity of the Catholic. How well this strategy worked could be assessed by looking at the story of Kasper Wilkowski, a medical doctor from Lublin and a convert from the Antitrinitarian Church of the so-called Polish Brethren. Wilkowski converted under the influence of Lublin Jesuits and published an account of his conversion in a sensational half autobiographical, half controversial book *Przyczyny nawrócenia do wiary powszechnej od sekt nowokrzęćców samosateńskich* [Reasons for the conversion to the universal faith from the sect of Samosatene Anabaptists] published in 1583. The following year he published another work – a Polish translation of *Rationes decem* by Edmund Campion. In a dedicatory letter to Queen Anna Jagiellonka (1523–1596) whom the author contrasted with the English queen, Elizabeth I (1533–1603), he wrote:

31 Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603*, pp. 142–143; see also Thomas M. McCoog, 'Construing Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1582–1602,' in E.H. Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation' Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 105.

32 Arthur J. Butler, Sophie S. Lomas (eds.), *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, January–June 1583 and Addenda*, (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1913), no. 723.

I was given these books by the Most Reverend Lord and Father Bishop of Kujawy, Hieronim Rozrażewski, and – being very strengthened in Catholic faith both with them and with his company – I wanted everyone to profit from them and was giving them to many to read. But since I was aware that one copy could not serve everyone's needs, with God's help and His Grace's advice I undertook to use some time, which I could spare while looking after His Grace's health, to translate them into our Polish language and to publish them for those who did not know Latin. And I would have had them printed a long time ago, but I learned that Father Piotr Skarga, a man of many talents and a diligent worker in the Lord's vineyard, following His Majesty's order, had done the same job, so I threw them into the corner, and they would have stayed there, had not Father Skarga himself forced me with his letters...to publish them.³³

Indeed, Skarga published his own translation of *Rationes decem* in the same year of 1584 and also in Vilnius!³⁴ This was truly an exceptional situation, even in the European context. There were only two vernacular translations before 1584, into French in 1582 and German in 1583, and here in the same Vilnius printing house two different translations were published with the full consent of their translators. In 1605, the year of the Gunpowder Plot, which was followed by another wave of persecutions, the Latin original was printed again in Kraków in Andrzej Piotrkowczyk's press, and it is certain that Skarga, who closely cooperated with Piotrkowczyk, was again the prime mover.

Wilkowski's book includes a translation as well as an interesting account of the controversy initiated by *Rationes decem* in England following Campion's death. The Polish author mentions William Charke (d. 1617) and Meredith Hanmer (1543–1604) who challenged Campion as early as 1580, but pays more attention to William Whitaker (1548–1595) and his *Ad rationes decem Edmundi Campiani Iesuïtae, quibus fretus certamen Anglicanae Ecclesiae ministris obtulit in causa fidei responsio* printed in 1581. Wilkowski writes that Whitaker's response has been used in religious controversies in the Commonwealth ("some

33 Kasper Wilkowski, *Dziesięć mocnych dowodów, iż adwersarze Kościoła powszechnego w porządek o wierze dysputacyjnej upaść muszą, Edmunda Kampiana Societatis Iesu. Z łacińskiego na polski język z pilnością przetłumaczone i potrzebnie wydane, z krótką sprawą jego męczenniczego dokonania i odpisu Witakierowego. A przy tym na Antidotum kalwińskie odpowiedź i z nowokrzęścianami rozprawa z strony „Przyczyn nawrócenia” Gaspra Wilkowskiego* (n.p., 1584), c. ij v.

34 Clarinda Calma, 'Piotr Skarga tłumaczem nowoczesnym? Polski i angielski przekład *Rationes decem* Edmunda Campiona – próba porównania,' *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica* 21 (2013) no. 3, pp. 237–244.

of ours here triumph with his response”), and reveals his own plan to translate into Polish the *Confutatio responsionis Gulielmi Whitakeri in Academia Cantabrigensi Professoris regii, ad Rationes decem, quibus fretus Edmundus Campianus Anglus certamen Anglicanae Ecclesiae ministris obtulit in causa fidei* written in 1582 by the Scottish Jesuit John Dury. From Wilkowski’s perspective, the English Jesuit mission of 1580 was a heroic theological clash in which the martyrs, by bearing witness to the truth with their own blood challenged others to rally to the defence of true doctrine. Wilkowski, along with John Dury, is one of those who want to pick up the gauntlet, so he combines his translation and the account of the controversy with his own polemics against former co-religionists, obviously considering his own theological struggle as a continuation of the great Catholic-Protestant controversy that paid no respect to national and linguistic borders. Edmund Campion, whose martyrdom was only briefly recounted in Wilkowski’s work, appears here as the patron saint of Catholic apologetics, an outstanding controversialist and a martyr of religious debates, the one who, though tortured on a rack and deprived of books, stood up to the challenge of the Calvinist ministers in the Tower and triumphed thanks to Divine inspiration.

Wilkowski never kept his promise of translating John Dury’s defense of Campion’s work, but Polish Anti-Trinitarians, from whom Wilkowski had broken away, were truly interested in the controversy. In 1608 one of their theologians, Tomasz Pisecki, wrote his own *Responsio ad Decem rationes Edmundi Campiani Iesuitae*, printed twice in Raków in 1610 and 1619. In his subsequent writings he also often referred to Campion’s arguments.³⁵

The case of Wilkowski confirms the significance of English controversial literature in sixteenth-century Poland along with the efficiency of the Jesuit strategy of using recusant prose and history to create a Catholic *respublica laicorum*. At the turn of the sixteenth century, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was by no means a country of religious persecutions, and least of all, persecutions of Catholics. The plundering of Catholic churches located within the boundaries of the estates that belonged to the Protestant nobles or exiling of priests, though not unknown, was neither a legal nor common practice. But identity could best be defined in the context of dispute with other denominations, especially when faced with oppression and distress. Thus, recusant prose complemented, reinforced and made more distinct what was lacking and could

35 Lech Szczucki, *Nonkonformiści religijni XVI i XVII wieku. Studia i szkice* (Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk Instytut Filozofii i Socjologii, 1993), pp. 84–86. See also Calma, ‘Piotr Skarga tłumaczem nowoczesnym? Polski i angielski przekład *Rationes decem* Edmunda Campiona – próba porównania,’ p. 240.

seem confusing in the Polish situation. It became a source of well-tested arguments in controversial theology, offered a disturbing image of Catholics as an oppressed minority and thereby mobilized against the Reformed. It presented the very debate as a heroic act, but also indirectly served the radicalization of the *Ecclesia militans* and as encouragement to eradicate heresy, if necessary with violence.

England as a House of Bondage in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Polish Prose

By the beginning of the next century, the tragic persecutions of the English Catholics were already widely known in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; stories of British martyrs became part of popular hagiographic collections, especially of Jesuit *memoranda* meant to propagate the glory of martyred brothers and of the entire order. Examples of this genre include Piotr Skarga, *Próba zakonu Societatis Iesu* [The Trials of the Society of Jesus] (1607) and the *Pamiętka abo katalog szczęśliwej śmierci niektórych zakonników Societatis Iesu, częścią męczeńską koroną, częścią żywota świętobliwością znacznych* [A memorial or catalogue of the happy death of some members of the Society of Jesus, distinguished in their lives or martyrdom] printed in 1680. One cannot deny that though martyrological literature was meant mostly to consolidate Catholic denominational awareness, it also contributed to forming stereotypes and prejudices. The image of England as a house of bondage ruled by cruel monarchs had been also strengthened by original pamphlets written by Polish authors such as Stanisław Krzysztanowic's *Examen catholicum edicti Anglicani quod contra Catholicos est latum auctoritate parlamenti Angliae* (1607).³⁶ Another similar work was *Exetasis epistolae, nomine regis magnae Britanniae ad omnes Christianos monarchas, principes et ordines scriptae* published anonymously in 1610; yet another is Kasper Cichocki's *Alloquia Osiecensia* published in 1615, the book solemnly burned after King James's diplomatic intervention.³⁷

36 Marian Heitzman, 'Stanisław Krzysztanowic i jego polemika z Baconem Werulamskim,' *Reformacja w Polsce* 5 (1928), no. 19, pp. 68–76. The author claims that Krzysztanowic's pamphlet, printed in Paris, provoked Francis Bacon to write an apology *In felicem memoriam Elisabethae Angliae reginae* (written in 1608, published in 1658). Bacon however does not mention Krzysztanowic's name.

37 Murphy, 'Robert Abercromby, SJ (1536–1613) and the Baltic Counter-Reformation,' pp. 69–74.

News about the most recent executions kept coming; for example a small anonymous pamphlet *Relacyja krótka o męczeństwie Ks. Rudolfa Corbeusa Anglika Societatis Iesu, podjętym 17 Septembris roku 1644, z tacińskiego przetłumaczona* (n.p., n.d.) informed Polish readers about the death of English Jesuit Ralph Corby.³⁸ Probably the largest Polish work based on recusant martyrological literature was published in the mid-eighteenth century, several decades after the bloody persecutions of the Catholics in England. This work, the *Historija o początku odszczepieństwa Kościoła anglikańskiego i wejściu do niego herezyi kalwińskiej i innych sekt...* [History of the origins of the Anglican Church and the entry to it of Calvinist and other sects] (Warsaw, 1748), was a compilation written by a Jesuit Jan Poszakowski, based mostly on Sander and Rishton's *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani*, but expanded by other sources, like the diary of John Gerard or Mathias Tanner's *Societas Iesu Apostolorum imitatrix*.³⁹

The dark image of England as a kingdom of religious oppression dominated in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until well into the eighteenth century, when it found itself in competition with the new trend of anglophilia which came from France and Germany in the Enlightenment. It was a true historical paradox that at the same time British society was already nourishing an equally terrifying image of Poland – as of a fanatic and lawless country, ruled by cruel papists and Jesuits persecuting Protestants.⁴⁰ On the distant fringes of Europe, these two countries, which hardly knew each other, were frozen into common, though apparently conflicting prejudices.

38 Bernadetta M. Puchalska-Dąbrowska, *Bohaterowie Wysp Brytyjskich jako wzorce świętości w hagiografii polskiej XVI–XVII wieku* (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2009), pp. 215–278.

39 Christopher Highley, 'A Pestilent and Seditious Book: Nicholas Sander's *Schismatis Anglicani* and Catholic Histories of the Reformation,' *Huntington Library Quarterly. Studies in English and American History and Literature* 68 (2005) no. 1–2: *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, pp. 151–172.

40 Beata Cieszyńska, 'Between Incidents of Intolerance and Massacre. British Interpretations of the Early Modern Polish Religious Persecutions,' *Revista Lusófona de Ciência das Religiões* 8 (2009) no. 15, pp. 260–282.

James VI and I, the Scottish Jesuit, and the Polish Pasquils

Martin Murphy

The present-day town of Braniewo, situated on the Polish side of the border with the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad, was the site of a fierce rearguard action by German forces at the end of World War II. Little or nothing has survived from the devastation of that time to remind the visitor that Braniewo was once, as Braunsberg, the cradle of the Baltic Counter-Reformation and the site of one of the most important Jesuit educational establishments in Northern Europe.¹

Braniewo and the Baltic Counter-Reformation

In the late Middle Ages, Braniewo, then a minor Baltic port, formed part of a territory disputed between the Polish Crown and the Teutonic Knights. In 1529 Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543), a canon of the diocesan cathedral of Frauenburg (Frombork), negotiated its cession to the Kingdom of Poland as a fief administered by the Bishop of Warmia (Ermland). By the mid-sixteenth century Warmia was almost entirely surrounded by hostile territory: Prussia to the east, and beyond it the still largely unevangelised Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where Socinianism, or Arianism, as it was termed in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was adopted by the powerful magnate dynasty of the Radziwiłłs; to the west, Pomerania, Danzig and the Hansa towns; to the north, across the Baltic, Lutheran Sweden.

The appointment of Stanislaus Hosius (1504–1579) to the see of Warmia in 1551 marked the beginning of a Catholic counter-offensive.² Hosius read recent English history as a cautionary tale for Poland. As a young student at Padua he had been a friend of Reginald Pole (1500–1558), and his contacts at the Council of Trent with William Allen (1532–1594) and Nicholas Sander (1530–1581) had

1 Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia. Jesuit Educational Strategy, 1553–1622*, 4 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

2 For a general account of the Polish Counter-Reformation, see Ambroise Jobert, *De Luther à Mohila: La Pologne dans la crise de la chrétienté, 1517–1648* (Paris: Institut d'Études Slaves, 1974).

brought him up to date with more recent developments. In the 1560s there were disquieting parallels to be drawn between Poland and England. Poland had a king, Sigismund II August (1520–1572), whose wife had failed to bear him a son, and who might be tempted to follow the example of Henry VIII (1491–1547). Many of the Polish magnate families saw the Reformation as a means of breaking the power of the Church, and as oligarchs they regarded papal claims to supreme authority with suspicion.

Hosius' priority was education, clerical education along the lines established at Trent, and the education of youth, in order to secure the loyalty of the Polish nobility. For his educational task force he turned to the *corps d'élite* of the Counter-Reformation, the Society of Jesus. Braniewo, strategically situated midway between Gdańsk (Danzig) and Königsberg, and easily accessible from Scandinavia, was selected as the beachhead. A pioneer community of ten Jesuits arrived there in 1564 and opened a secondary school the following year. Other units followed in quick succession: a residence for young nobles, a *domus pauperum*, a diocesan seminary, a Jesuit novitiate, and a pontifical college for Scandinavian students. Braniewo was intended to be for young Danes, Swedes, Norwegians and Finns what Douai was for young Englishmen: a seedbed for the recovery of Northern Europe. The Jesuit community was correspondingly international in character, including a Bavarian, a Dutchman, an Italian and a Scotsman, later joined by an Englishman, Adam Brock (1542–1605), a graduate of Magdalen College, Oxford. The internationalism of this and other early Jesuit colleges was one of the features which attracted prospective parents and pupils throughout Europe.³

It is the Scot, Robert Abercromby (1536–1613), who will concern us here. He was born in 1536 at Murthly, in the parish of Little Dunkeld, Perthshire. After graduating in the humanities from the University of St Andrews in 1558, he was one of a group of students loyal to the old religion who migrated to Louvain in 1562, two years after the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.⁴ He entered the Society of Jesus at Rome in 1563 and after only one year was recommended to Hosius for the Braniewo foundation. Juan Alfonso

3 The alumni of the papal seminary are listed in G.Lühr, *Die matrikel des päpstlichen Seminars zu Braunsberg, 1578–1798* (Braniewo: Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis, 1925). The somewhat garbled names of 33 Scots who studied there between 1579 and 1642 are given in A. Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, 3 (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1889), pp. 455–457. On the Scandinavians at the college, see Garstein, *Rome*, vol.3, pp. 174–210.

4 James Maitland Anderson, *Early Records of the University of St Andrews* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1926), pp. 156, 255; Annie I. Dunlop, *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree, 1413–1588*, 2 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1964), p. 413.

de Polanco (1517–1576), the secretary to the Father General, described him as “an excellent man (*vir optimus*), learned and prudent,” adding that “he may perhaps do useful work among the English and Scots who come to Danzig. He hopes that he will soon learn the Prussian language (*Prutenicum idioma*).”⁵ He was ordained priest at Braniewo in 1565, the year after its foundation.

Polanco was well informed in referring to the Scots at Gdańsk. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in general was then a land of opportunity for young Scotsmen ready to take advantage of the commercial opportunities available in a country which, divided between a martial nobility and a labouring peasantry, lacked an entrepreneurial class. The immigration of young Scotsmen through Gdańsk and other Baltic ports reached a peak in the period between 1580 and 1620, recorded in more than 400 locations scattered throughout the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Since most of them, like Robert Abercromby, came from the north-east of Scotland, where Catholicism survived in some districts under the protection of George Gordon, 1st Marquis of Huntly (1562–1636), they included Catholics as well as Calvinists. Some made a living as itinerant pedlars, but others were successful businessmen who made their fortunes in the export of grain, timber and hemp and played a leading part in civic life. One such was Robert Gordon (1638–1731), the Gdańsk merchant who used the wealth he accumulated in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to found a hospital in his native Aberdeen, the predecessor of what is now known as Robert Gordon’s Institute of Technology. These prosperous Scottish merchants gave their name to the Gdańsk suburb of Stare Szkoty (Alt Schottland).⁶

As a teacher of grammar and rhetoric at Braniewo, Abercromby can have had little time at first for apostolic work. In 1569 he was appointed the first novice-master of what seven years later became the Polish province of the Society of Jesus. He went on to hold that post for seventeen years, responsible for the spiritual formation of the first generation of Polish Jesuits. This was in spite of the fact that although he was fluent in German he never mastered Polish – Latin being the language of communication in all Jesuit colleges. In 1570 his superior described him in a report to Rome as having virtually kept the college going at a time of difficulty (*vir bonus qui multum laboravit et fere collegium Braunsbergense sustentavit tribulationum tempore*).⁷ By that date he

5 S. Hosius, *Korespondencja*, 5 (Olsztyn: Warmińskie Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 1976), pp. 425–426.

6 Anna Biegańska, ‘A Note on the Scots in Poland,’ in T.C. Smout (ed), *Scotland and Europe, 1550–1800* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), pp. 157–165; W. Borowy, *Scots in Old Poland* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1941).

7 ARSI Germania 131, f.359, quoted in Jan Korewa, *Z dziejów diecezji Warmińskiej w XVI* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, 1965).

had been joined by an English colleague, Adam Brock, who later went on to become rector of the Jesuit academy at Vilnius. Priests with Abercromby's education in the humanities and spiritual discernment were rare among the local clergy, which is why in 1582–83 he was seconded as personal assistant to Hieronim Rozdrażewski (1546–1600), the newly appointed bishop of Włocławek and the first Jesuit-educated Polish prelate, who was intent on the reformation of his diocese along Tridentine lines. Gdańsk, though within his diocese, was a no-go area for the bishop, and it was Abercromby, as his deputy, who laid the foundations for a Catholic recovery there by recruiting German-speaking clergy and undertaking the reform of religious houses. Rozdrażewski unsuccessfully begged the Rector at Braniewo to allow him to retain the services of 'Master Robert' for a longer period, describing him as his invaluable mainstay (*maximo rerum mearum adminiculo et praesidio*).⁸

The Jesuit presence in such a strategically important area as the Baltic caused alarm to the English government. In 1579 London merchants established the headquarters of their Eastland Company at Elbląg (Elbing), midway between Gdańsk and Braniewo. The English associated Jesuits with Spain, and feared that they would promote Spanish interests in the Baltic. These suspicions found expression when a Polish envoy, Paweł Działyński (1560–1609), came to London in 1597 to protest against English attempts to block Gdansk's trade with Spain. Though a predominantly Lutheran city, Gdańsk depended on its shipments of grain to the Spanish Netherlands and so paradoxically sided with Philip II (1527–1598) against the rebels in Flanders and their English allies. In their reply to Działyński, the English ministers put much of the blame for the crisis of Anglo-Polish relations on "Spanish Jesuit slanderers of whom there is said to be a great number scattered throughout the kingdom of Poland, who frequently hurl malicious insults against the Queen and this kingdom without being punished or even reprimanded."⁹

The Baltic, with its supplies of corn as well as the timber, hemp and pitch necessary for shipbuilding, was an area vital to English interests, and so successive English agents at Gdańsk made it their business to counteract Spanish influence and to keep an eye on Jesuit activity. When one of them, Sir

8 P. Czaplewski, ed., *Korespondencja Hieronima Rozdrażewskiego* (Toruń: Nakładem S. Buszczyńskiego, 1939), I. pp. 422–423, 467–468; II. pp. 8, 44, 97, 233. On the Counter-Reformation in Danzig, see Richard Stachnik, *Die katholische Kirche in Danzig: Entwicklung und Geschichte* (Münster: Kirchliche Zentralstelle der Danziger Katholiken, 1959).

9 NA SP 88/2/28. Text printed in R. Hassenkamp, 'Handelspolitische verhandlungen zwischen England und Polen,' *Zeitschrift der historischen gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen*, 3 (1888), pp. 94–128. Cf. H. Zins, *England and the Baltic in the Elizabethan Era* (Manchester: University Press, 1972).

John Rogers (1540–1603), arrived in Poland in 1580 to negotiate privileges for the Eastland Company he made a point of visiting the college at Braniewo, posing as a friendly traveller, and reported to Secretary Francis Walsingham (1540–1603) on what he had learned there about the Jesuit community and their contacts in England.¹⁰ As it happened, Abercromby was not there at the time, having left for Scotland on a six-week fact-finding mission on behalf of the papal legate Antonio Possevino (1533–1611). He took with him to his brother's home at Murthly a sizeable collection of English Catholic works of controversy, remarking that whereas ships coming from France and Flanders were regularly searched for such books, they could easily be brought in from ports in Prussia and Pomerania, since "Scots suspect no evil from these places and countries."¹¹

Abercromby's Missions to Scotland

Abercromby reported to Rome that in the course of his mission to Scotland he had three audiences with the fourteen year old king, James VI (1566–1625). "I do not doubt," he wrote, "that if he had a good instructor he would become in a year an excellent and devout Catholic prince," and he went so far as to propose himself for this role. If allowed to remain in Scotland for a year, he continued "I should hope, God willing, to win over by holy guile (*sancto dolo*) the king and a great part of the court." The report was not only wishful in its thinking but curiously materialistic in its assertion that both the King and the court could be won over by "gifts, offices and services."¹² It also reflected the mistaken belief – not uncommon among Jesuits – that once the monarch was converted the nation would follow suit.

Back in Poland, Abercromby could operate more dispassionately. In 1586 the Polish Jesuit novitiate was moved from Braniewo to Kraków, and he went with it, becoming superior of St Stephen's house, only to be replaced as novice-master the following year. The Rector at Kraków, Piotr Skarga (1536–1612), considered it time for a native Polish-speaker to be responsible for the rapidly increasing number of recruits. In 1587 he returned to Scotland for a second

10 *CSP Foreign*, 1583, nos 590–616. Cf. P. Skwarczyński, 'Elsinore 1580: John Rogers and James Bosgrave,' *Recusant History*, 16 (1982), pp. 1–16.

11 W.J.Anderson, 'Narratives of the Scottish Reformation I. Report of Father Robert Abercromby SJ in the year 1580,' *Innes Review*, 7 (1956), p. 33. This document is a key to an understanding of Abercromby's mind and character.

12 W.J.Anderson, 'Narratives' pp. 36, 42–43.

mission, which this time would last for twenty years, a period which coincided with a collapse in the fortunes of the Catholic community there.

Throughout his time in Scotland Abercromby repeatedly but unsuccessfully pleaded with Rome to allow Catholics to attend services in the kirk. Whereas English recusants had strategies to avoid sanctions, in Scotland non-attendance at the kirk led ineluctably to social ostracism and financial ruin. In arguing the case for a more flexible policy, accommodated to Scottish circumstances, Abercromby cited the precedent whereby theological students at Vilnius were allowed to attend “heretic sermons” in order to sharpen their skills in controversy. After 1595, some of his Scottish Jesuit brethren reluctantly fell into line with the policy followed by their English brethren, denying the sacraments to those who attended the kirk. As a result, Abercromby wrote, the harvest grew very small: “Satan could devise no better way of preventing the salvation of souls.”¹³

The details of Abercromby’s apostolate do not concern us here, but one episode deserves special mention: his reception of James VI’s queen, Anne of Denmark (1574–1619), into the Catholic Church in 1599.¹⁴ The event is well attested, even though Anne never made it public. There was a precedent for this: Antonio Possevino’s reception of John III of Sweden (1537–1592) in 1578 was similarly kept secret. King James turned a blind eye to his wife’s change of religion, and it would have been impossible for Abercromby to gain access to the palace in Edinburgh without his tacit connivance. According to the priest’s own account, written in 1609, the king noticed the improvement in his wife’s spirits, and when he asked her the reason “she named me, an old cripple.” Legend had it that the King gave him a cover by appointing him to be keeper of the royal falconry – a story that lent itself to the gloss that the falconer was a catcher not of birds, but of souls (*auceps animarum*).¹⁵ There were some in the English Catholic community who believed initially that James was a crypto-catholic who was only waiting for an opportunity to make his conversion public. Abercromby by now harboured no such illusions. In a report sent to Rome in 1601 he described the king as “the cause of all the evils that have afflicted

13 Abercromby to Aquaviva, 22 July 1598, ARSI Anglia 42, ff. 94–95, 185–208. For differing views on this issue, see Hubert Chadwick, ‘Crypto-Catholicism, English and Scottish,’ *The Month*, 178 (1942), pp. 388–401, and Peter J. Shearman, ‘Father Alexander McQuirrie SJ,’ *Innes Review* 6 (1955), p. 35.

14 For the full text of Abercromby’s account, see Joseph Stevenson, ‘Anne of Denmark, Queen of Great Britain,’ *The Month*, 16 (February 1879), pp. 259–261; Albert Loomie, ‘King James’s Catholic Consort,’ *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 34 (1970–71), pp. 303–316.

15 Stanisław Rostowski, *Lituanicarum Societatis Jesu historiarum libri x* (Paris: Apud Vic-torem Palmé, 1877), pp. 236–237.

this country [Scotland],” whose tentative approaches to Rome were motivated by nothing other than a desire to win the Pope’s support for his claim to the English throne.¹⁶

For the last five years of his mission Abercromby was a fugitive, sheltered by the Marquis of Huntly in the north-east of the country. Now almost seventy years of age and in failing health, he felt himself to be more than ever a liability to his protectors. James’s attitude to the Jesuits changed completely after his accession to the English throne in 1604, and the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot the following year led to a renewal of persecution in both kingdoms. In the summer of 1606 Abercromby returned to Braniewo. He was not inactive there during the last seven years of his life (1606–13). A letter he wrote to the Bishop of Warmia in 1607 on behalf of a young Scotsman whom he had received into the Church there is evidence of his continuing preference for flexibility over rigour. Back in Scotland the young man had been married in the kirk and so was apprehensive of what might happen if he returned to Warmia on business. Had the young man not acted as he did, Abercromby argued, he would have forfeited his estate in Scotland and faced destitution – “a consideration which prevailed in him, as a man of the world, over care for his salvation.” Urging humanity, he urged that the young man’s conversion be kept secret until he had time to settle his affairs: “Some allowance must be made for weakness if such men are to be led to better things. Abrupt and precipitate changes are not usually lasting.”¹⁷

‘Pacenius’ and His Pasquil

At Braniewo, in his final years, Abercromby found himself unwittingly embroiled in political controversy. In 1607 King James entered a prolonged controversy with Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), provoked by the oath of allegiance which the King imposed on his Catholic subjects after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot.¹⁸ In 1609 he reprinted his *Apologie for the Oath*

16 ‘Narratio de Statu Regni Scotiae,’ ARSI Anglia 42, ff.151–156. For the text in English translation, see James Forbes Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics* (London: Thomas Baker, 1889), pp. 269–274.

17 Abercromby to Szymon Rudnicki, 15 November 1607, Czartoryski Library, Kraków, MS 1630, f. 183.

18 Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age* (London: Scolar Press, 1978); Thomas Clancy, ‘English Catholics and the Papal Deposing Power, 1570–1640,’ *Recusant History* 6 (1961–62), pp. 114–140, 205–227; 7 (1963–64), pp. 2–10.

with an introductory letter addressed to the monarchs of Europe, including Sigismund III Vasa (1566–1632) of Poland, warning them of the dangers of accepting the Pope's deposing power. Towards the end of the year his agent at Gdańsk alerted him to the seizure there of copies of a 'pasquil' (libellous pamphlet) attacking his *Apologie* and him personally in the most abusive terms. James's agent traced the copies to their source at Braniewo, a printer by the name of Georg Schönfels (d. ca. 1626–1631). The pasquil, entitled *Exetasis epistolae, nomine regis Britanniae ad omnes monarchas, principes et ordines scriptae*, written under the name 'Bartolus Pacenius, I[uris] C[onsultus] Montensis,' purported to have been published at Mons by one Adam Gallus, but no such printer existed. A comparison of the typeface and printer's devices of the pasquil with those of other works printed by Schönfels about this time prove that it was printed by him.¹⁹

While dismissing the Gunpowder Plot as the work of an insignificant minority, 'Pacenius' nevertheless argued that it had to be understood in the context of the renewed persecution of the Catholic community. Answering the objection that the explosion, if successful, would have killed many innocent people, he argued that violence was the inevitable result of desperation, and implied that the end justified the means: "Noxious plants and their seeds must be crushed and their roots torn up, lest they grow again." He challenged the theory of the divine right of kings by declaring that monarchs derived power from the people (*Non enim populus propter regem, sed rex propter populum est*), and so were liable to forfeit that power if they abused it. After asserting the primacy of spiritual over temporal power, 'Pacenius' descended to personal abuse. He described Queen Elizabeth (1533–1603) as a shameless whore (*impudentissimum scortum*) who posed as a virgin, and alleged that King James had connived at the execution of his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–1587), out of ambition for the Crown of England, and was tormented by a guilty conscience. When a court buffoon ('Burdochaeus') was unwise enough to jest that James had killed his mother, the king thrust a lighted torch in his face, scarring it for life. There is no historical basis for this story.

19 A. Allison and D.M. Rogers, in their magisterial *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation*, 1 (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), no. 4, wrongly identify the printer as Joannes Albinus, of Mainz. Schönfels' involvement is confirmed in A. Kawecka-Gryczowa and Krystyna Kratajowa, *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, 4 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1962), pp. 399–405. Only four surviving copies are recorded, at the British Library (London), the Czartoryski Library (Kraków), the Herzog August Bibliothek (Wolfenbüttel) and Toruń.

Who was 'Bartolus Pacenius'? King James's agent at Gdańsk, Patrick Gordon (d. ca. 1657), reported that Abercromby had vigorously denied authorship in a letter to the deputies of the Eastland Company at Elbląg. He was an old man, broken in health, and since he had never ventured into print before he was unlikely to have done so now. Nor would he have compromised his relationship with Queen Anne by abusing her husband so violently. Though the pasquil may have drawn on his table talk, its tone was completely at odds not only with his known character but also with the approach taken by Scottish Jesuits in their dealings with James. The difference between them and their English Jesuit confrères is illustrated by a letter written to Cardinal Maffeo Barberini (1568–1644), later Pope Urban VIII, in 1610 by the orientalist scholar George Strachan (1592–1644). Much damage had been done, he believed, by the provocative writings of "English priests whose minds are more inclined to rigour than to sweetness and forbearance." They should realise that "the King is a changeable, susceptible, timid and suspicious man, who may take good advice in private and be swayed by prudent men in face-to-face conversation, but is exceedingly incensed and provoked by published writings."²⁰ The King's furious reaction to the Polish pasquil bears out this analysis. His sensitivity to anything which might damage his image abroad is well attested. This explains why he demanded that the printer of the offending libel should be punished. The Polish King disclaimed responsibility by arguing that Braniewo was within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Warmia.

Patrick Gordon soon decided that the pasquil must have been written by another hand. His shortlist of suspects included the Welsh Jesuit Griffin Floyd (active in years 1593–1625), recently on the staff at Braniewo, but when arrested and interrogated by the English authorities in 1615 Floyd denied ever having seen the work of 'Passenius'.²¹ When the pasquil was republished at Douay by Laurence Kellam in 1610, still under a false imprint, William Trumbull (1575–1635), the British ambassador in Brussels, sent Cecil a copy of "one of those infamous libels current here under the name of Bartolus Pacenius, now of late newly published at Douay by one Gilleran a Jesuit and reprinted there by one Kellum...which impudent proceeding of theirs may give just cause to suspect that it was first hatched in the nest of those vipers." The libels may have been seized as a result of his protest to the Archduke, since only four copies survive. The identity of Pacenius remains a mystery.

20 G.L. Dellavida, *George Strachan* (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1956), pp. 30–33.

21 *CSP Dom 1611–1618*, 303–305. Floyd attributed the work to a M.Maillan, 'a gentleman of the Pope's chamber.'

King James and the Cichocki Affair

Two years later a much more virulent attack on King James, which drew on the Braniewo pasquil, provoked a major diplomatic incident after its publication in Kraków. The offending book, *Alloquia Osiecensia*, which appeared under the name of Kasper Cichocki (1545–1616), was an important landmark in the history of the Polish Counter-Reformation. Triumphalistic in tone, it celebrated the return to the Catholic fold of the great magnate families who had been seduced by Arianism or Lutheranism, seeing this as a victory not just of truth over falsehood, but of blue blood over base. It caused scandal beyond the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by its scurrilous abuse of Erasmus as a crypto-Arian, a prevaricator (*Proteus*), a coward (*errans mus*) and a menace (*pestis fugienda*), further alleging that as a young man he had fathered an illegitimate child. This marked a new low in the tone of contemporary Jesuit polemic which, as Urszula Szumska has written, too often crossed the bounds of decency. In its survey of the European scene it incorporated whole sections from *Exetasis* in a diatribe against King James, comparing him with Nero, Diocletian, Maximian, Julian the Apostate and the Arian emperor Constantius, and denouncing him as a matricide, usurper, bastard and perjurer.²² Cichocki, a canon of Sandomierz, was not a Jesuit himself, but the friend of Jesuits. All the evidence suggests that he was providing cover for the much better-known Jesuit writer Kasper Sawicki (1552–1620), the real author of the offending work. In 1612 the Polish Provincial had instructed his censors to delete from works submitted by Jesuit authors “all that relates to affairs of state, or that concerns the rights of reigning princes and that could give rise to calumnies against our Order.” Without the protection of a pseudonym Sawicki would not have dared, as he did, to criticise ‘our politicians’ for being more concerned to please a corrupt king (*putridi regis*) than to support their persecuted Catholic brethren in England.²³

The book was brought to King James’s attention by his correspondent Janusz Radziwiłł (1612–1655). He reacted furiously to what he called the ‘unheard

22 Gaspar Cichocki, *Alloquiorum Osiecensium sive familiarum sermonum libri quinque* (Kraków: Basilius Skalski, 1615), lib.1, ch.18 (Erasmus), lib.3, Ch. 4 (Elizabeth and James); Urszula Szumska, *Anglia a Polska w epoce humanizmu i reformacji* (Lwów: Księgarnia Krawczyńskiego, 1938), p. 105.

23 Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska*, 14 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1896), p. 265; W.L.Chotkowski, ed., *Ks. J. Wielewickiego T.J. dziennik spraw domu zakonnego O.O. Jezuitów u S. Barbary w Krakowie od r.1609 do r.1619* (Kraków, Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1899), p. 401; K.Cichocki, *Alloquiorum*, lib.3, cap. 6.

of blasphemies' of 'that wicked Cichocki.'²⁴ John Dickenson (1570–1636), the resident envoy at Düsseldorf (and an accomplished Latinist) was sent on an extraordinary embassy to Warsaw. In an audience with the Polish King he demanded that the author and printer of the book be punished and the entire stock be publicly burned, adding the threat that if James did not obtain satisfaction he would withdraw his services as mediator between the Polish and Swedish governments at forthcoming negotiations in Stettin (Szczecin). Dickenson's bluntness disconcerted the Poles. The Chancellor, Feliks Kryski (1562–1618), read him a lesson in the limitations of Polish monarchical power. As King Sigismund III Vasa put it in his official reply, "In this Commonwealth the ecclesiastical estate is the most important and esteemed, endowed with great privileges, with supreme powers of jurisdiction over its subjects – powers which His Majesty may not usurp without altering the Constitution." Nevertheless the King undertook to condemn the libel publicly, to urge the author's ecclesiastical superiors to take proceedings against him, and to instruct the authorities at Kraków to punish the printer.²⁵ Copies of the book were burned in the market place at Sandomierz by the public hangman. Both Cichocki and Sawicki conveniently died in 1616.²⁶

The episode is a striking example of how far King James was prepared to go in defending his reputation abroad. As (in his own eyes) a divinely appointed monarch he regarded Cichocki's attack not just as a calumny but as a blasphemous affront. Earlier he had gone to equal lengths to defend national honour by pursuing the Polish author of a libel which cast aspersions on the Scots in general and the Scottish diaspora in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in particular.²⁷ He was extraordinarily well-informed about Polish affairs, reported to him by agents not only in Gdańsk but also in Elbląg, the headquarters of the Eastland Company which controlled British trade with Russia and the Hanseatic League. But there was a wide divergence between British and Polish concepts of Church-State relations. There was no state religion in Poland, which had a long history of religious tolerance. Catholics, Jews, Lutherans, Bohemian Brethren, Socinians (Arians), Greek and Armenian Orthodox, Muslims and Anabaptists coexisted there. William Bruce (active 1604–1610), King

24 C.H. Talbot, ed., *Res Polonicae Iacobo I Angliae regnante conscriptae ex archivis publicis Londoniarum* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum, 1962), p. 238.

25 A.Kraushar, 'Poselstwo Dickensona do Zygmunta III,' *Miscelanea Historyczne*, 32 (Warsawa: 1909); Dickenson's report to Sir Ralph Winwood (Secretary of State), 25 September 1615, in *HMC, Downshire Manuscripts*, 5, London: HMSO, 1988, no. 698.

26 Szumska, *Anglia a Polska*, pp. 107–108.

27 See W. Borowy, 'Some unusual diplomatic cases,' *Warsaw Weekly*, 25 December 1937.

James's agent in Gdańsk, wrote in his *Relation of the State of Polonia* in 1588 that "for religion there is not in any country such variety."²⁸ And though there were isolated attacks on non-Catholic churches there was no bloody persecution, no one was burned at the stake for their beliefs, as in Spain, or tortured, hanged or imprisoned, as in England. However, the Jesuits used their increasing influence at court and their monopoly of élite education to alter the climate of opinion in regard to religious toleration. It is not coincidental that in 1619, when there were attacks on dissenting places of worship in Poznań, the Jesuit College there staged a play entitled *Franciscus Valsingamius* – unique among such college plays in being based on the life of a living member of the Society, and in dealing with matters of theological controversy. That same year Sigismund III Vasa had issued a decree barring members of the reformed sects in Poznań from enjoying the rights and privileges of citizenship, and the play's author celebrated the event implicitly in the action and explicitly in the Polish-language choruses. The plot hinged on the conversion of the protagonist to the Church of Rome as a result of reading one of the works of Robert Persons. The Jacobean court and church were satirised, but although King James was involved in the story, it is significant that he was kept off-stage. In her discussion of Edmund Campion's play *Ambrosia*, staged at Prague some forty years earlier, Alison Shell has described its message in the following terms: "Heresy leads to internecine conflict and evil action, and princes, to rule wisely, must be accountable to the Church in a way that only Catholic monarchs can claim to be." The same may be said of the message of *Franciscus*.²⁹

The career of Robert Abercromby coincided with a period of profound transformation in his native country, in his adopted country, and in the Society to which he dedicated his life. His letters from Scotland trace the process whereby his early optimism gave way to a chastened acceptance that the Catholic remnant there would have to take to the catacombs. In 1564 the community at Braniewo which he helped to found had been international in character and small in number, but the province to which he returned at the end of his life numbered some 570 members, only forty of whom were foreigners. The company had become a regiment – more powerful but more inward-looking. Abercromby's record of twenty-eight years of service in Poland is exceeded

28 Quoted in Anna Biegańska, 'In Search of Tolerance: Scottish Catholics and Presbyterians in Poland,' *Scottish Slavonic Review*, 17 (1991), pp. 37–60.

29 Martin Murphy, 'Franciscus Valsingamius: A Theological Drama of the Polish Counter-Reformation,' *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, 33 (2000), pp. 64–84; Alison Shell, 'We are made a spectacle: Campion's Dramas,' in Thomas McCoog (ed.), *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 103–118.

only by James Bosgrave, who spent some thirty-six years in Braniewo, Poznań and Kalisz between 1587 and his death in 1623. The numbers of Scottish students whom he brought to Braniewo may never be known, since only the records of the seminary survive.³⁰ The town fell to Gustavus Adolphus in 1623, and its looted library and archive were taken to Uppsala, where they remain today.³¹ The Swedish 'deluge' turned Polish minds to more pressing and immediate concerns, and the cause of the persecuted Catholic community in the kingdoms of England and Scotland, once so powerfully championed by Piotr Skarga, faded from public consciousness.

-
- 30 The eight Scottish students recorded as having attended the papal seminary between 1579 and 1599 include Patrick and Thomas Abercromby, doubtless Robert's younger kinsmen. Patrick proceeded to the college in Vilnius, where in 1605 he composed an *Epithalamium* for the wedding of James Arnott (a Scot) to Diana Sienkewicz Cf. Estreicher: *Biblioteka*, 12 (1891), p. 5.
- 31 Józef Trypućko, *The Catalogue of the Book Collection of the Jesuit College in Braniewo held in the University Library in Uppsala* (3 vols., Warsaw-Uppsala: Biblioteka Narodowa-Universitetsbibliothek, 2007).

English Recusants in the Jesuit Theatre of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Jolanta Rzegocka

Among the books that once belonged to the Jesuit college of Kalisz (Calissia) in Central Poland now kept in various libraries in Poland, there is a collection of over 180 volumes bearing the Dryja coat of arms of Andreas Lisiecki (ca. 1576–1639).¹ A Polish nobleman and lawyer, Lisiecki was also royal prosecutor in the parliamentary court of the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.² Some of Lisiecki's books bear a motto paraphrased from Ecclesiasticus 3, 33: "Seek not the things that are too high for thee, but think on the things that God hath commanded thee."³ The Biblical passage seems to underline the cardinal virtues of prudence and temperance that – together with the virtue of justice and fortitude – underpinned civil life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the actions of the members of the noble estate.⁴ If books have their own fate and libraries can speak, Lisiecki's calf skin-covered books coming from a

1 The article presents some of the results of the research project 'Subversive Publications and Seditious Publishing in Modern England and Poland: A Comparative Study' funded by the National Science Centre of Poland, no. DEC-2011/01/D/HS2/03125.

2 Krystyna Opalińska, 'Instygtator koronny Andrzej Lisiecki i jego księgozbiór,' *Kolekcje historyczne. Księgozbiory szlacheckie XVI–XVII wieku* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2004), p. 121; Bernadeta Iwańska-Cieślak, 'Książki z księgozbioru rodziny Strzemboszków i Andrzeja, Lisieckiego w zbiorach Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego we Włocławku,' *Studia Włocławskie*, 9 (2006), pp. 472–476, http://digital.fides.org.pl/Content/960/34_SW_9_Iwanska-Cieslik.pdf.

I am most grateful to Izabela Wiencek from the Early Prints Room of the University of Warsaw Library Special Collections who has informed me about recent attribution of over 20 titles to the Lisiecki collection as part of the ongoing cataloguing project in the Print Room of University of Warsaw Library Special Collections. Among the titles are numerous *anglicana*, which may shed new light at the reception of the English and recusant writings in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

3 Opalińska, 'Instygtator koronny,' p. 123.

4 Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves, 'O pojęciu *Rzeczpospolita (res publica)* w polskiej myśli politycznej XVI wieku,' *Czasopismo prawno-historyczne*, LXII.1 (2010), p. 57. An English reader may find useful a recent study of the political thought of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by Benedict Wagner-Rundell, *Common Wealth, Common Good: The Politics of Virtue in Early Modern Poland-Lithuania* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015).

typical middle-class Polish nobleman's library tell a lot about his interests and the ideas he cherished.

Lisiecki's library is a careful selection of Polish and Latin books bought roughly between 1607–1636 when he prospered as a lawyer and started to buy land.⁵ Scholars who have dealt with Lisiecki's life and library claim that his public career was a typical career of a middle rank nobleman in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the turn of the century.⁶ In 1636, three years before his death, struck by an unknown illness, Lisiecki bestowed his library upon the Jesuit college of Kalisz. In fact, he may have attended the college himself, as it was the closest school to his family home and was considered the best Catholic school in the area, especially popular with the middle-class nobility.⁷

Lisiecki's collection is the library of an eager and well-informed reader: it includes books on the structure of the Polish-Lithuanian parliament (*Sejm*), the mixed state and religious settlement in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It lists a political treatise by Laurentius Grimalius Goslicius (ca. 1530–1607) *De Optimo Senatore*.⁸ There are books on Christian warfare and a model of the Christian soldier as well as treatises on the *ars moriendi* and numerous Biblical commentaries.⁹ A large group of books are Polish and foreign publications on politics, the art of good and virtuous government as well as books on the rights and powers of the sovereign, the Senate and the lower house of the parliament.¹⁰ Lisiecki's library is a very telling collection: this is a library of a citizen, and not a subject, who seems to have cherished the basic principles,

5 Opalińska gives a detailed account of Lisiecki's life, public offices and book acquisitions in 'Instygator koronny,' pp. 107–131.

6 Opalińska, 'Instygator,' p. 118.

7 This is put forward by Krystyna Opalińska, 'Instygator koronny,' p. 109, Lisiecki was born in ca. 1576 and the college opened in 1584.

8 Laurentius Grimalius Goslicius, *De optimo senatore libri duo*. Venetiis: Apud Iordanum Ziletiū, MDLXVIII (1568), listed in Iwańska-Cieślak, 'Książki z księgozbioru,' p. 473. Interestingly, the book had two early modern English translations: one by Robert Chester (MS produced ca. 1584) and one by an anonymous translator published in 1598 – discussed in an insightful study by Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, *Goslicius' 'Ideal Senator' and His Cultural Impact over the Centuries: Shakespearean Reflections* (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2009), pp. 130–156. Available online: https://www.academia.edu/5260407/Goslicius_Ideal_Senator_and_His_Cultural_Impact_over_the_Centuries_Shakespearean_Reflections.

9 Jan Januszowski, *Nauka umierania chrześcijańskiego*. Kraków: Maciej Jędrzeiowczyk, 1619, Bernard Paxillus, *Wizerun[e]k duchownego żołnierstwa chrześcijańskiego*. Kraków, Maciej Jędrzeiowczyk, 1619, Robert Bellarmin, *Nauka Dobrego y szczęśliwego umierania...przez Andrzeja Łukomskiego, Kanonika Krak[owskiego]* w Polski ięzyk przetłumaczona. Kraków: Maciej Jędrzeiowczyk, 1621, listed in Iwańska-Cieślak, 'Książki z księgozbioru,' pp. 475–476.

10 For example, Stanisław Karnkowski, *De primatu senatorio Regni Poloniae. Posnaniae*, [Wda i dziedz. Jana Worłaba], MDXCIII (1593), Hieronim Powodowski, *Proposicia z wyroków*

freedoms and virtues of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – the *respublica mixta*. The list of civic virtues discussed by major political writers in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – and therefore adopted by active citizens like Lisiecki – opens with the four cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance followed by the concepts of equality, consent and brotherhood within the estate of *szlachta* – the politically enfranchised part of society.¹¹ Acquired over a period of almost 30 years, the library shows the scope of interests of an early modern Polish citizen. *Szlachta*, Lisiecki the lawyer believed, was the core of the Republic; their prerogatives and the very presence in the mixed state assured the just and equal distribution of powers.¹² These beliefs are clearly shown in his choices of books.

Interestingly, Lisiecki's reconstructed book catalogue lists at least three English books considered 'subversive' by the Elizabethan government. These included Robert Parsons' *Elizabethae Angliae reginae* published in London in 1593 by Joannes Didier, a detailed rebuttal of the proclamation of Elizabeth I of October 1591 against seminary priests and Jesuits, along with Nicolas Sander's *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani libri tres* published in Ingolstadt in 1588 by Wolfgang Eder.¹³ He also owned Thomas Stapleton's *Orationes academicae miscellaneae* published in Antwerp in 1600 by Johannes Keerbergius.¹⁴ Stapleton, the renowned English Catholic controversialist, was connected to Poland as one of the first translators of the works of Cardinal Stanislas Hosius (1504–1579).

Lisiecki's library is a testimony to the owner's interest in the history of the reign of Queen Elizabeth and English church history. His book choices show great concern for preserving religious freedoms under any kind of government, whether republican or absolutist. If his library is to be taken as typical of the

pisma S[więtego] zebrana: Na Sejm Walny Koronny ski w Roku 1595. Kraków, Jakub Siebeneicher, MDXCV (1595), listed in Iwańska-Cieślak, 'Książki z księgozbioru,' pp. 473–475.

- 11 A discussion of virtues in the political thought of the Republic of Poland Lithuania in Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Ład Rzeczypospolitej. Polska myśl polityczna XVI wieku a klasyczna tradycja republikańska* (Kraków: Księgarnia akademicka, 2012), pp. 291–316.
- 12 Lisiecki was a political writer himself, he is the author of hugely popular *Obrona wolności i praw Rzeczypospolitej* (The Defence of freedoms and laws of Rzeczpospolita) published ca. 1625, his second major work is *Trybunał Główny Koronny* (The Crown Tribunal) published in Kraków in 1638. See Opalińska, 'Instygator,' pp. 112, 115.
- 13 Interestingly, this book had its Latin edition in Danzig in 1690 and was translated into Polish by Jan Poszakowski in the eighteenth century, see Henryk Zins, *Polska w oczach Anglików XIV–XVI wieku* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2002), p. 127.
- 14 USTC 407137. Opalińska, 'Instygator,' pp. 171, 181, 186. See also Henryk Zins, *Polska w oczach Anglików XIV–XVI wiek* (Poland in the eyes of the Englishmen 14–16 century) (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2002), pp. 129.

library of a Polish noblemen and citizen at the turn of the century, and if it pinpoints some aspects of the intellectual life of members of Lisiecki's social estate, the question is to what frame of mind, what political, social and religious outlook is this library a testimony? How were civil servants educated and how was such frame of mind forged: the mind of a citizen working towards the common good, cherishing tradition and vigilant that no political and religious rights were ever broken in his country?

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) at the end of the sixteenth century was a multi-religious, multiethnic and multinational state based on individual freedom and civil liberty, equality and justice. These were the rights granted to the enfranchised political class of *szlachta* who made up approximately 10% of the population – the largest political nation in Europe.¹⁵ The principle of equality of Polish-Lithuanian noblemen extended beyond religion and wealth – all noblemen were equal by law and tradition, regardless of their economic status. Questions of religion were among the most important elements of an early modern Polish noblemen's life and largely shaped his social and political outlook. One of the main principles of the social system of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was religious freedom and toleration; in fact the Republic introduced the Statute of General Toleration issued by Confederation of Warszawa in 1573 to respond to calls for toleration from its citizens. This unparalleled preoccupation with questions of religion – and principles of toleration – was underlined by the English diplomats and writers of the time, and it became a common public opinion on the Isles.¹⁶ The ideas clearly fascinated foreigners coming from absolutist states – an English traveler, Fynes Moryson writes in his *Itinerary* (1617) in the chapter on Poland: "No people in the world are so much infected with the variety of opinions in Religion. Insomuch as it is proverbially sayd that if any man have lost his Religion, he may find it in Poland, if it be not vanished out of the world."¹⁷ It is precisely the interest and preoccupation with questions of religion and the wellbeing of a state that Lisiecki's books uncover for the modern scholar.

The citizens of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth watched neighbouring European states and nations with awe as they saw the political nations of

15 Norman Davies, *God's Playground A History of Poland*. Vol. 1: *The Origins to 1795* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), pp. 159–160. See also most recent study of the political union of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by Robert Frost, *The Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania*. Vol. 1 *The Making of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, 1385–1569* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015).

16 Paradoxically, it was Robert Cecil who wrote to his father, William Cecil, Lord Burghley in 1597: "We see [...] how peaceably the kingdom of Polonia is where no man's conscience is forced [...]." Quoted in Zins, *Polska w oczach Anglików*, p. 131.

17 Zins, p. 131.

these countries give away their freedoms and accept the absolute power of the sovereign. They believed that for a free citizen to become a subject of a monarch was the worst possible scenario: it meant giving away part of their individual freedom and civil liberties. This may be why a Polish nobleman of middle standing would buy 'subversive' English books – he watched freedom of religion being curtailed and civic rights and liberties being taken away from his fellow English noblemen – and he took it as a warning for his own country.

Equality, justice and tradition – these were the ideas that appealed to the minds and souls of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility in the early modern period. They were especially cherished and promoted in the Protestant and Catholic schools of Poland-Lithuania. Probably the most remarkable were the Jesuit colleges, offering large-scale civic education based on the study of the Classics as well as elements of Polish history.

The Jesuit Schools of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

It is thanks to the fame of their outstanding schools that the Jesuits were invited by Bishop Stanislas Hosius to Poland in 1564 to open their first college, the Collegium Hosianum in Braniewo (Braunsberg).¹⁸ Soon afterwards a Jesuit college in Vilnius in present day Lithuania was founded with the support of Bishop Walerian Protaszewicz (1505–1579).¹⁹ Interestingly, English and Scottish Jesuits were among the novice-masters and first professors in both colleges.²⁰ Jesuit colleges offered a new type of instruction promoting critical thinking, modern piety, eloquence and drama. Theatre was part of the curriculum in all Jesuit educational institutions.²¹

18 'Braniewo' in *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy, 1564–1995* [Encyclopaedia of Information on the Jesuits on the Territories of Poland and Lithuania, 1564–1995], ed. Ludwik Grzebień, 1996, online edition <http://www.jezuici.krakow.pl/cgi-bin/rjbo?b=enc&n=620&q=0> accessed 05 November 2015.

19 'Akademia Wileńska' in *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, <http://www.jezuici.krakow.pl/cgi-bin/rjbo?b=enc&n=34&q=0>; see also the seminal work of Ludwik Piechnik, *Dzieje Akademii Wileńskiej* (History of Vilnius Academy), vol. 1, *Początki Akademii Wileńskiej 1570–1599* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1983).

20 It has been calculated that there were 15 Jesuits from England, Scotland and Ireland working in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the end of the 16 c. See 'Abercrombie' in *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, <http://www.jezuici.krakow.pl/cgi-bin/rjbo?b=enc&n=1&q=0>; 'Anglia' in *Encyklopedia*, <http://www.jezuici.krakow.pl/cgi-bin/rjbo?b=enc&n=95&q=0> accessed 05 November 2015.

21 Kalina Bartnicka etc. (eds.), *Ratio atque institutio studiorum SJ* (1599), (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Ateneum, 2000), p. 95.

The Jesuits arrived in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in a critical period of the Counter-Reformation, and threw themselves into the religious debates with the Protestants. In the multi-ethnic and multi-religious country the first generation of Jesuits saw that the principle of religious tolerance was adopted on all levels of political and public life, and that common good was the key concept that governed the public life of the country. It was only by taking into account this very specific Polish-Lithuanian socio-political context that the Jesuits were able to establish themselves as tutors, educators and intellectual leaders of the youth.²² The Polish Jesuits took into account the specifically Polish need for the civic education of youth expressed by the parents, school patrons and donors.²³

Scholars of the history of Jesuit education in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth suggest that because the Jesuits eventually became popular with the sons of Polish-Lithuanian nobility, the order had a very distinct character in *Rzeczpospolita*.²⁴ Poland's legal, political and military system was discussed in its colleges. As members of *szlachta*, Polish Jesuits passed on to their students the ideas of justice, benevolence, and reverence for the past – the ideas cherished by the social estate to which they originally belonged. According to Jan Bielski, an eighteenth-century Polish historian, one of the main tasks of the Jesuit colleges was to:

train a future public speaker for the country, to educate a politician and a debater who would support the Kingdom with his counsel at local parliamentary sessions, in Sejm, during various public and special meetings and deliberations, home and abroad, at war and peace.²⁵

22 The Jesuit archives from the Lithuanian Province frequently note facts of Protestant parents transferring their children to Jesuit colleges: "rodzice zabierają swoich synów ze szkół protestanckich i oddają nam [parents would take their children from Protestant schools and send them to us]" in ARS1, Lith. 40f. 343 v. quoted in Ludwik Piechnik, 'Działalność jezuitów polskich na polu szkolnictwa (1565–1773),' in L. Grzebień et al. (eds.), *Jezuici a kultura polska* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 1993), p. 250.

23 Kazimierz Puchowski, 'Jezuickie kolegium i konwikt szlachecki w Kaliszu. Ze studiów nad edukacją w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej,' in M. Bigiel (ed.), *Jezuici w przedrozbiorowym Kaliszu* (Kalisz: Edytor, 1996), pp. 30, 53.

24 Puchowski, 'Jezuickie kolegium,' p. 30, Piechnik, 'Działalność jezuitów,' p. 247.

25 Jan Bielski, *Widok Królestwa Polskiego* (Poznań, 1763) in Puchowski, 'Jezuickie kolegium,' p. 41. Translation mine JRz. See also Kazimierz Puchowski, '*In bello Mars, in pace Apollo*. Z dziejów edukacji w kolegiach jezuickiej Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów,' in M. Inglot etc. (eds.), *Jezuicka Ars Historica* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2001), p. 479.

The themes of civic virtue and the duties of a model citizen were frequently chosen for speeches and disputes by the students of the class of rhetoric; the same themes were also presented on the school theatre stage.²⁶ The Jesuits presented their students with classical models of perfect rulers, kings and statesmen. At the same time they would look for role models among national heroes and rulers, or they compared the heroes of their times with those of the classical era. The same applied to the anti-heroes. Thus, in Polish school plays King Vladislav IV Vasa (1595–1648) was the new Alexander or Mars (Alexander Sarmaticus, or Mars Polonus), the fourteenth-century reformer and lawgiver King Kazimierz the Great (1310–1370) was called the Sarmatian Lycurgus, and Kiejstut Giedyminowicz (1308/09–1382), the pagan Grand Duke of Lithuania was called Odysseus and Achilles: the names symbolized wisdom and courage.²⁷ The Jesuit students learned those historical parallel lives very well, which in turn helped them to become virtuous and responsible citizens, to learn their national history and be proud of the success of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in history.

It is in this political and educational context that we see English themes appear in the Polish-Lithuanian school theatre. Records of Jesuit and Piarist school drama between 1614–1773 compiled by the team of Władysław Korotaj in 1976–1978 list thirteen playbills on English themes, among these are plays loosely based on English topics and involving quasi-English characters with no reference to historical sources, such as *Mansio sapientiae coronata* (Mohylew, 1732, Fig. 4.1). There are plays set in England as well as plays based on historical sources and events, such as the War of Roses, the disgrace and execution of Sir Thomas More and lives of the early English Christian martyrs.²⁸

Jesuit playwrights also explored themes of royalty and sovereign power as they wrote and produced several plays on English and Scottish kings. These

26 For a detailed analysis of the Polish Jesuit school theatre, see Jan Okoń, *Dramat i teatr szkolny. Sceny jezuickie XVII wieku* (Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1970).

27 Puchowski, 'Jezuickie kolegium,' pp. 32, 38–40.

28 The Piarist plays: *Henricus VI, unus duorum regnorum princeps Angliae simul Galliae rex* (Warszawa, 1725), *Zabawa przystojna* (Vilnius, 1755), *Messis immortalium trophaeorum Thomae Mori* (Zamość, 1736), and a Jesuit play on the lives of the early English Christian martyrs: [Rudnicki, Dominik], *Vicarius Christi* (Warszawa, 1701, Fig. 4.3). All themes attested in Jesuit playbills from the Polish-Lithuanian Province catalogued in: *Dramat staropolski od początków do powstania sceny narodowej. Bibliografia*, vol. 1. *Programy drukiem wydane do r. 1765*, Part 1. *Programy teatru jezuickiego*, W. Korotaj etc. (eds.), (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1976) and in Piarist playbills collected in *Dramat staropolski od początków do powstania sceny narodowej. Bibliografia*, vol. 1. *Programy drukiem wydane do r. 1765*, Part 2. *Programy teatru pijarskiego oraz innych zakonów i szkół katolickich*, W. Korotaj etc. (eds.), (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1978).

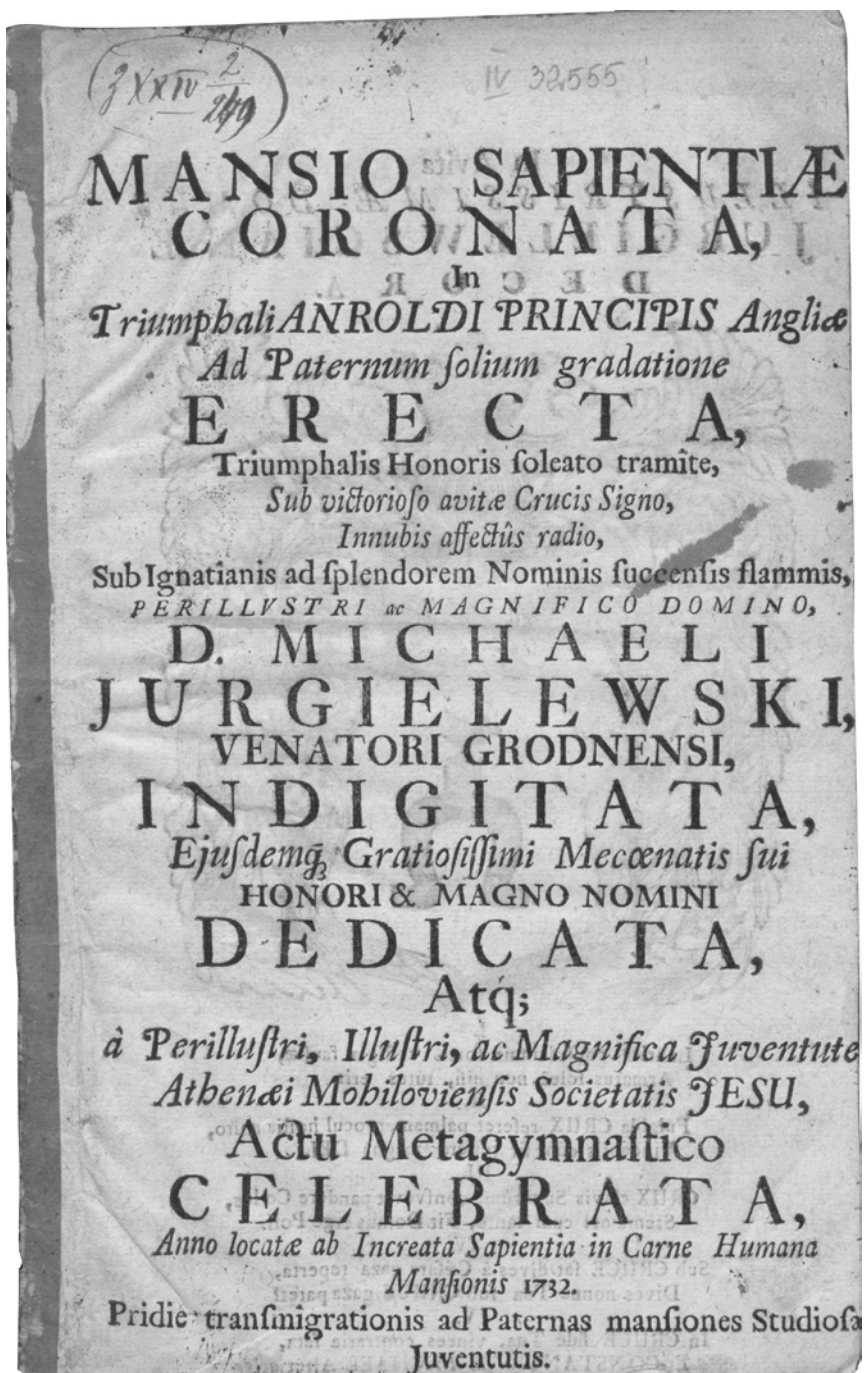


FIGURE 4.1 *Mansio sapientiae coronata in triumphali Anroldi principis Angliae ad paternum solium...*, Mohylew 1732.

COURTESY OF VILNIUS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, SHELFMARK IV 32555

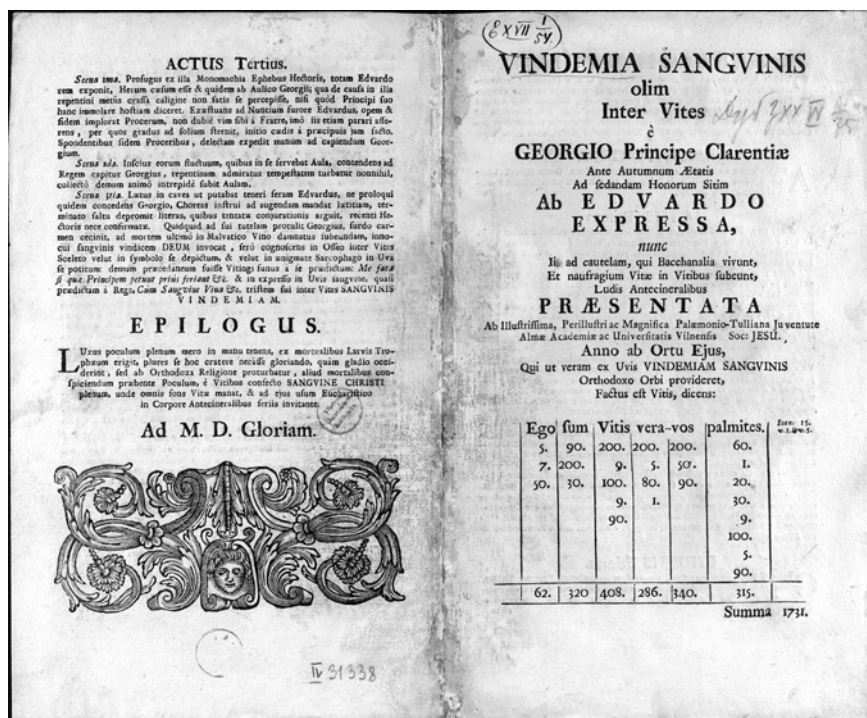


FIGURE 4.2 *Vindemia Sanguinis, olim inter vites e Georgio principe Clarentiae ante autumnum aetatis ad sedandam honorum sitim ab Eduardo expressa...*, Vilnius 1731.

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, SHELFMARK IV 31338, EPAVELDAS.LT

included *Inhumana humanitas* (Vilnius, 1697) – a play about Edward IV, Gloucester and Clarence; *Corona aurea* (Vilnius, 1724) – a play about the son of King Ethelred (who becomes King Richard III) who loved books and learning; *Vindemia Sanguinis* (Vilnius, 1731, Fig. 4.2), a carnival play on Edward, King of England and Clarence *Orgia Bacchi* (Braniewo, 1738) – a play on Alexander III of Scotland.²⁹ In this group of playbills there is one about Thomas Pounce, an English Catholic lay brother who spent thirty years in prison. The play is based on an episode from Pounce's early career at the court of Queen Elizabeth.³⁰ According to some versions Pounce was dancing before the queen at Christmastide and was publicly rebuked by her, which induced him to retire from court. The Polish play renders the story in a slightly different way: Pounce is at the start of a promising career at court, he wants to persuade his Catholic friends to convert to the

29 In Korotaj, *Dramat staropolski, Programy teatru jezuickiego*, pp. 32, 164, 168.

30 [Brzozowski Marcin?]: *Lusus in feria desinens* (Vilnius, 1733), listed in Korotaj, *Dramat staropolski*, vol. 1, pp. 536–537.

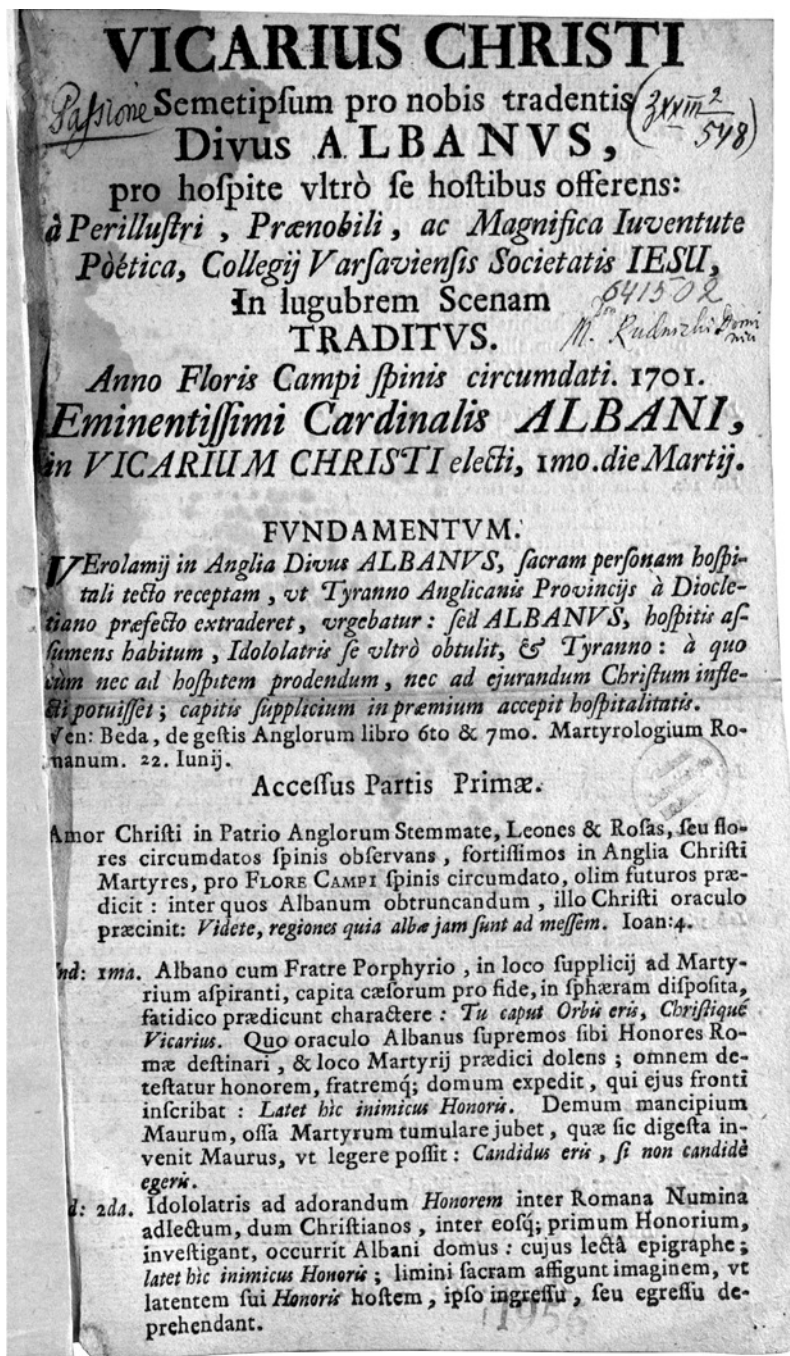


FIGURE 4.3 Rudnicki, Dominik [?], *Vicarius Christi, semet ipsum pro nobis tradentis, Divus Albanus, pro hospite ultro se hostibus offerens...*, Warszawa, 1701.

COURTESY OF VILNIUS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, SHELFMARK IV 23627

Anglican faith and organizes a feast with dances. He accidentally falls during a dance and is a witness to the changing fortune as the same people who have admired him dancing now laugh at him. Pounce resigns from court and becomes an active proselytizer. This 1733 play exemplifies the contrast between worldly fame and spiritual rewards, genuine and pretended virtues. Eighteenth-century plays on English themes are often staged during carnival, 'Bacchanalium tempore' (Thomas Morus play, Thomas Pounce play). They focus on moral issues and promote sobriety, piety and self-control in the time of Lent. The themes of recusancy and religious persecution in England would by then be a distant echo in Poland and they were not underlined in any way in the production.

The list of plays on English themes may be supplemented by two other 'English plays' from Poznań: *Sanctus Edmundus* (Poznań, 1615) and *Drama de sancto Gunthliaco* (Poznań, 1616). There has been no play text found so far of either play; here we rely for evidence of their existence on the record of their performance in college diaries.³¹ One of the most interesting plays in this group of early seventeenth-century English plays is *Franciscus Valsingamius* (Poznań, 1619) from codex R380 now in the university library in Uppsala.³² In the play, an Englishman and a distant relative of Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State converts to the Catholic faith having read Robert Persons' *A Defence of the Censure* – Person's reply to Campion's critics. The Poznań play, as Martin Murphy notes, is unusual in that it involves a contemporary character and comments on recent political and religious situation in England.³³ It is an intriguing play because Franciscus undergoes religious conversion having read a 'subversive' book lent to him by a Catholic friend: the book starts to occupy his mind and soul and leads to the act of conversion. It is through this dramatic lens that the Poznań audiences learn about the power of subversive books and about the hardships of English Catholics – in Act II we see Catholics who have come from the Tower give an account of the sufferings inflicted upon their fellow prisoners. This is immediately followed by a chorus, proclaiming that Poznań has lit a flame of hope and hopefully other cities will follow Poznań's example in banishing heresy. In the end of the play (Act 5) we see Franciscus

31 Okoń, *Dramat i teatr szkolny*, p. 369.

32 Codex R 380 ms. Uppsala University Library, major studies and further bibliography on the play in Martin Murphy, 'Franciscus Valsingamius: A Theological Drama of the Poznań Counter-Reformation,' *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 33 (2000), pp. 64–84. Poznań had a large Protestant population that grew under the protection of Stanisław Górka, a powerful Protestant palatine of Poznań who died in 1592. The city was a scene of heated religious debates from the 1580s, onwards, the key Jesuit controversialist being an Englishman, Laurence Arthur Faunt. Faunt's patron was the Polish Primate, Stanisław Karnkowski who founded the Kalisz Jesuit college in 1584.

33 Murphy, 'Franciscus Valsingamius: A Theological Drama,' p. 65.

approach the Archbishop of Canterbury and request a public debate on matters of faith.³⁴ Thus, the play is a dramatic representation of what the Jesuit playwright wanted the Poles to imagine was going on in England at that time. English events were then transferred to Poland to tie in with the religious debate going on in multi-confessional Poznań.

Edmund Campion's Play in Kalisz 1592

The English Jesuits and recusants entered the world of Polish school theatre both as play characters and authors. An example that is perhaps most fascinating from the point of view of Campion studies is the theatre of the Jesuit College of Kalisz – the same college that received the books of Andreas Lisiecki after his death. In the year 1592, eight years after the college was opened, students of the college staged *Ambrosiana*, a play by Edmund Campion originally staged in Prague in 1578.³⁵ We learn about it from the annals of the Kalisz college for the year 1592 that were sent to Rome.³⁶ The passage in the annals regarding the staging of Campion's play reads as follows:

Furthermore, let it be a clear proof of the teaching success, that this year, when the new curriculum was introduced, the number of the students promoted to upper classes doubled. They appeared in public at the renovation of studies in such order and with such a programme that it made all eyes and faces turn on them. There was a comedy about Saint Ambrosius and Emperor Theodosius, and the authority of its author gave it weight (*cui auctoris quoque auctoritas pondus addebat*). It was said that the

34 A theological debate of Francis with Rolfus, Rohunhanus, Barlous (William Barlow), Theodorus (Theodore Beza) and Ruardus (Ruard Tapper) is discussed in Murphy, 'Franciscus Valsinghamius,' p. 71. The play is summarized by Murphy in the Appendix to the article, pp. 81–84.

35 I adopt the title *Ambrosiana* following the arguments of Gerard Kilroy who suggests that the title pinpoints the Eucharistic theme in the play through the metaphor of ambrosia – the spiritual nectar. The only surviving play by Edmund Campion is sometimes called *Tragoedia Ambrosiana* (Simpson), *Ambrosia* (MS copy), *Tragoedia Nectar, et Ambrosia* (Alegambe), *Drama de S. Ambrosio, Theodosium Imperatorem as poenitentiam adducente* (Schmidl); Campion himself called it *Tragoedia Ambrosiana* in a letter from Bologna, see the discussion of all options in: 'Introduction,' *Ambrosia: A Neo-Latin Drama by Edmund Campion* s.f., J. Simons (ed.) (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1970), pp. ix–xi.

36 *Annuae Litterae provinciae Poloniae*, 1592, Collegium Callisiense, A.S.J. Pol. 50, f. 98v; discussed by Jan Poplatek, *Studia z dziejów jezuickiego teatru szkolnego w Polsce* [Studies in the history of the Polish Jesuit school theatre] (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1957), p. 177.

author of this play was Father Edmund Campion of blessed memory, a martyr of England: he once lectured in humanities in Prague. There were also various digressions (*frequentes*) regarding the funerals of the nobility as well as other issues, many of which involved the heretics..., which we omit for the sake of brevity.³⁷

We find this note in the annals of the Society that were regularly sent from Poland from 1581 onwards to the main provincial archive in Rome. According to the internal society regulations, each college was to send a selection of news to Rome where they would then be compiled into one book and sent out to promote the Society's activities around the world. The compilation of yearbooks was intended to be of value not only to Jesuits but also to laymen all over the world; for this reason mostly positive and uplifting news and stories were to be published and circulated. What follows from the passage in the Kalisz College annals is that a relatively young college is clearly proud to have attracted the sons of the local nobility. Around the year when Campion's drama was staged, the number of students doubled. Campion's play turned out to be a success much as it had been in Prague eighteen years before where it was staged in the presence of emperor Rudolph II.³⁸ In Kalisz, like in Prague, the play was performed for the entire city. On a practical level the play was well chosen, as the cast in Campion's play includes 65 characters and 5 groups of actors.³⁹ Even if the roles were doubled, it was a large-scale production and this could have been one more reason for the College of Kalisz to have chosen Campion's play to mark its presence in town and remarkable growth. The message conveyed in this passage is that Kalisz cherishes the memory of Father Campion, professor of poetics and rhetoric at Prague. And Prague itself, the principal capital of the Habsburg Empire is mentioned not as a distant town that requires introduction, but as home to Klementinum and the centre of higher education closest to Kalisz and Krakow. In the context of Campion's students' lecture notes from Prague recently discovered by Clarinda Calma, it turns out that his fame and memory was cherished throughout the region.⁴⁰ The 1592 Kalisz production

37 Translation into English mine JRz. I thank Dr Katarzyna Gara for her Latin translation and help with the phrasing of the passage.

38 J. Schmidl, *Historiae Societatis Iesu Provinciae Bohemiae Pars prima*, Prague 1747, p. 100 in Simons, 'Introduction,' p. xi.

39 The only modern edition of *Ambrosiana* is by Joseph Simons (ed.), *Ambrosia: A Neo-Latin Drama by Edmund Campion SJ* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1970), it includes an English translation of the play.

40 See Clarinda E. Calma, 'Dzieło uwieczniające serdeczną pamięć o Edmundzie Campionie, czyli o rękopisie *Concionale* [...] *Edmundi Campiani* w Książnicy Cieszyńskiej' in *Prace Komisji Neofilologicznej PAU*, vol. XIII, (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2015),

has to be seen in that context. It is impossible at this moment to establish how the play came to Kalisz, but since the next part of the record in the chronicle relates to the Protestants, it may be feasible to see Campion's play as an argument in the Counter-Reformation debate that went on in Kalisz and the nearby affiliated college in Poznań.

Heresy and religious conversion is a frequent theme in the playbook from Kalisz from roughly the same period, called the Pawlikowski Codex.⁴¹ The playbook gives a glimpse of what a Kalisz school theatre season was like: it includes full text plays that were produced in Kalisz College during the school year and copied into the codex by the professors of the college. Some other play titles are listed in the codex with a note "you will find this play in the book of comedies," which seems to suggest that there was another book of plays in the college.⁴² The Pawlikowski Codex does not list Campion's play – thus, the chronicle of 1592 remains the only performance record. According to the Jesuit tradition, an in-house playbook would first of all include plays written by the college authors, while chronicles and *annuae litterae* would mention both plays written locally as well as imported plays if they were considered important for the promotion of the college.

Plays from the Pawlikowski codex include, for example, a polemical *Dialogue* for the feast of St Catherine performed in 1587 in which the main character is "superbus hereticus Henricus" or "doctor hereticus cum suis discipulis."⁴³ Campion's *Ambrosiana* also depicts the struggle of heresy and the true faith; it has scenes of religious conversion and a beautiful rendition of St Augustine's

pp. 27–38 and Jolanta Rzegocka, 'Edmund Campion's Plays in Central Europe,' p. 4, online publication <http://www.staff.amu.edu.pl/~pber/Rzegocka.pdf> accessed 05 November 2015.

41 MS Ossol., Bibl. Pawlikowskich nr 204. The codex lists full-text plays, speeches and intermedia of the Kalisz Jesuit school theatre from 1584–1703, the contents of MS described in detail in:

Ludwik Bernacki, 'Dwa najstarsze jezuickie intermedia szkolne,' *Pamiętnik Literacki* 11 (1903), pp. 101–114. mbc.malopolska.pl Małopolska biblioteka cyfrowa, p. 101, and *Bibliografia Literatury Polskiej – Nowy Korbut*, vol. 1. *Piśmiennictwo staropolskie*, Part 1, *Hasła ogólne i anonimowe*, Roman Pollak (ed.) (Warszawa: IBL, 1963), no. 11, pp. 206–207.

42 MS Ossol., Bibl. Pawlikowskich nr 204, f. 107r.: "Hos in libro Comediarum invenies." Under the year 1588, on fol. 106v of the same MS there is a note next to the title of *Philoplutus Comaedia*: "quae est in libro Comediarum." Thus, it may be concluded that Kalisz had at least two playbooks at the time, one of which is probably yet to be discovered.

43 MS Ossol., Bibl. Pawlikowskich nr 204, fol. 86 (*superbus hereticus Henricus, doctor hereticus cum suis discipulis*), f. 90 (*doctor hereticus cum suis discipulis*), fol. 91: Hereticus is being addressed by Angelus.

conversion. And it has a clear Eucharistic line – these could be the reasons why it was selected for staging in the period when the Kalisz Jesuits were preaching in the entire city and nearby Poznań became home to the famous controversialist Laurence Arthur Faunt. Undoubtedly, Campion's play was to edify the Catholics in the audience and to win the hearts and the souls of the Protestants of Kalisz. It is highly improbable that the play was imported due to the lack of a local playwright. Rather, as the entry in the college chronicle seems to suggest, it was the blessed memory of Campion that made a flourishing college of Kalisz choose his play for the lavishly staged inauguration of the school year.

The early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth took some interest in English political and church history. These themes could have been made popular by the Scots and English serving as novice-masters at Braniewo and teaching at Vilnius.⁴⁴ The library of Andreas Lisiecki, the *Franciscus* play of Poznań and Campion's play in Kalisz testify to the willingness of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility to learn about the situation of England and to the great reverence they had for the memory of the English recusants.

Lord Burghley did not believe in toleration and famously said so in 1580:

That State...could never be in safety where there was a toleration of two religions. For there is no enmity so great as that for religion; and therefore they that differ in the service of their God can never agree in the service of their country.⁴⁵

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had a different and more positive view of religious toleration, although there was much discussion about it in the country. Lisiecki, as a Polish nobleman, believed that intolerance leads to the spilling of blood; the Jesuit argument was that unity of religion was the source of national unity. But even though the policy of the Counter-Reformation church was different from the practice of the Polish-Lithuanian state in that period, it was religious tolerance that prevailed.

44 Poplatek, 99.

45 George Ravenscroft Dennis, *The Cecil Family*. 1914. Reprint (London: Forgotten Books, 2013), pp. 30–31.

In the Eye of the Storm: Books in the Conflict between the Jesuits and the University of Kraków (1622–1634)

Magdalena Komorowska

In 1622, the Society of Jesus finally opened public academic courses in Kraków. This act, whilst not illegal and not entirely unexpected, caused turmoil in the city, because after decades of efforts the Jesuits failed to obtain the approval and goodwill of academics from the University of Kraków. The conflict that followed was fervent and although the Society won several lawsuits in the Roman Rota the new college was closed in 1634 by King Vladislaus IV (1595–1648) for the sake of peace. The twelve-year long fight between the two academies was multifaceted and left its mark in ample writings produced, and published in print, by both sides. This article focuses on these publications that can generally be described as pamphlets, both bibliographically and in terms of the literary *genre*. Firstly, their role as polemical tools and historical sources will be described. Secondly, a wider context will be sketched in order to demonstrate some unique aspects of book publishing in Poland after the Council of Trent concluded in 1563. And finally, it will be shown how Counter-Reformation currents shaped both attitudes towards polemical writings and the circumstances surrounding their publication.

Pamphlets: More than the Means of Propaganda

Recent scholarship describes the period between 1622 and 1634 as “characterised by furious pamphleteering, inter-student and communal violence, defamation, and a drawn-out adjudication by the Holy Roman Rota.”¹ The first of the characteristics is often raised and then quickly dropped due to the multitude of pamphlets and their low quality.² Indeed, pamphlets published at that time are

-
- 1 Piotr Stolarski, *Friars on the frontier: Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594–1648* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), p. 29.
 - 2 See Wiesław Stec, *Literacki kształt polskich polemik antyjezuickich z lat 1578–1625* (Białystok: Dział Wydawnictw Filii UW, 1988), pp. 253–276. There are around thirty pamphlets, mostly quartos, some of which number over one hundred pages.

rarely worth closer attention for their textual merits. Predictably enough, each of the two sides defended their right to teach whilst denying their adversaries the very same privilege. The Jesuits were likely to mention the University's flirtation with Protestant ideas in the sixteenth century, and the academics usually accused the Jesuits of duplicity and greed. The texts rarely bring their authors much credit to, but still they served as tools in the inter-institutional conflict and were consciously used to bring what was essentially an internal affair of the Catholic Church into the public political discourse. Series of pamphlets were likely to appear more or less every two years, right before the regional councils (*sejmiki*) or the gathering of the Polish-Lithuanian Sejm or Lower House.

Jesuit writers and historians in Poland paid great attention to these pamphlets exchanges. A history written by Jan Wielewicki (1566–1639), who was present in Kraków at the time of the conflict with the University, is in a good part a history of pamphleteering.³ Another Jesuit who took part in the conflict with the University, Fryderyk Szembek (1575–1644), painstakingly recorded and reprinted in his work *Gratis plebański* [The parochial gratis] episcopal anathemas upon anti-Jesuit publications from that period.⁴ This indicates how strong was the general tension between the two institutions and how questions of censorship gradually gained importance.⁵ The energies devoted to the exchange of printed pamphlets should also be read as a clear sign of how much they mattered at the time and how conscious the Jesuits were of their power.

The pamphlets also had a documentary value for the other participants of the events of 1622–1634, who were eager to record them. In 1625, one of the most eminent academics of the time, the mathematician Jan Brożek (1585–1652), wrote a letter to the Dean saying that the University should keep in its archive all of the letters and published writings of the conflict. “Verba volant, scripta manent” therefore everything should be noted down for posterity where judgement would be free from prejudice and bias.⁶ Brożek himself gathered a selection of pamphlets (both Jesuit and anti-Jesuit) and had them bound together. The volume was intended for the university library and, inside

3 Jan Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego OO. Jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie od r. 1609 do r. 1619 (włącznie)* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1889); Jan Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego OO. Jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie od r. 1620 do r. 1629* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1899).

4 Fryderyk Szembek [pseud. Józef Pięknorzecki], *Gratis plebański gratis wyćwiczony w jezuickich szkołach Krakowskich* (Poznań: Jan Wolrab, 1627), pp. 252–308.

5 See Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Cenzura w dawnej Polsce. Między prasą drukarską a stosem* (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Bibliotekarzy Polskich, 1997), p. 117.

6 Jan Brożek, *Wybór pism*, ed. H. Barycz (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1956), p. 460.

the covers, Brożek wrote a blessing to the custodians of the volume and an anathema upon anyone who should destroy it.⁷

Brożek's advice to keep track of the conflict's history was followed only in the 1650s when Marcin Radymiński (1602–1664) began writing a history of the University's battle with the Jesuits.⁸ It stretched from the early seventeenth century debates on the Jesuit College in Poznań, through the conflict in Kraków, to the final battle over a Jesuit academy in Lwów in the 1650s. The core of the massive study, over two thousand pages long, is the documentation of the conflict in Kraków. It consists mainly of correspondence (letters and drafts), letters connected to the conflict (for example letters by Fryderyk Szembek) and of pamphlets, both Jesuit and anti-Jesuit, divided into single leaves and pasted onto the bigger sheets of the entire volume. Radymiński included in his collection thirty seven printed works directly connected to the conflict, including pamphlets, protestations and court sentences, which together constitute the better part of all known printed material associated with the case. Radymiński also added relevant manuscript correspondence concerning particular titles.

Radymiński's collection of documents has been known since the nineteenth century but is rarely used by historians. The first scholar who gave a detailed description of the volume and its contents noted that those of his predecessors who regarded Radymiński's work as a detailed history of the conflict, most probably did not read it at all.⁹ For it is not a full and detailed historical account like Wielewicki's but rather a collection of sources interwoven by blank leaves, left empty presumably for Radymiński's commentary, unfortunately never written. Past researchers have overlooked the fact that the collection is a unique testimony of the power and influence of printed pamphlets and provides a rare opportunity to examine some of the practical aspects of pamphlet publishing during the struggle of early modern Polish authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical, to control the production and dissemination of books.

Towards an Effective Book Censorship in Kraków

The conflict between the Jesuits and the University coincided with the renewed efforts, undertaken by Bishop Marcin Szyszkowski (1554–1630), to establish an

⁷ See Jagiellonian Library, Cim. Qu 5622–5640.

⁸ Marcin Radymiński, *Academia controversa seu controversiarum Academiae Cracoviensis cum aemula Societate Iesu, in Regno Poloniae, de iure universitatis, analecta collecta opera*, Jagiellonian Library, MS 227.

⁹ Józef Muczkowski, *Rękopisma Marcina Radymińskiego* (Kraków: Józef Czech, 1840), pp. 22–23. See also Stec, *Literacki kształt polemik*, p. 254.

effective censorship of the books published in Kraków. Despite edicts establishing preventive censorship in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth issued by the Kings Sigismund I (1467–1548) and Sigismund II Augustus (1520–1572), exchanges of printed polemical writings between Protestants and Catholics were for the most part conducted freely throughout the sixteenth and the first two decades of the seventeenth century. Moreover, in the second half of the sixteenth century the capital city of Poland, officially a Catholic state, was an important publishing centre of Protestant books. Even in the last quarter of the century, two out of eight printing shops active in the city were closely connected with Protestant communities, namely the Calvinists and the Arians or Polish Brethren.¹⁰

The first decree issued by King Sigismund I in 1523 is known in two versions. According to the first version, reviewing books was the duty of the dean of the University of Kraków; the second version stated that this duty was delegated to the dean by the bishop. The same decree places all printers under the jurisdiction of the dean. Although none of the sixteenth century deans fulfilled this duty with much zeal, book censorship and jurisdiction over printers were usually considered a prerogative of the University. The situation remained unchanged even after Sigismund II Augustus granted this right exclusively to bishops in his decrees from 1556 and 1568.¹¹

There are not many records of censorship activities of either the University or the bishops of Kraków in the sixteenth century. The only traces are rare approbations printed in books published at the time. This being said, it is assumed that *de facto* there was no effective institutionalised preventive censorship at the time apart from a few exceptions that cannot be seen as applications of an established set of rules and actions. Perhaps the most famous of these exceptions is the case of Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (1503–1572) and his work *De Republica Emendanda*, which could not be published in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in full in 1551.¹² Acts of repressive censorship, executed by both the church and secular authorities, are better known. In a relatively small number of cases these activities led to the burning of books, such as Socinian treatises and anti-Jesuit pamphlets, and the punishing of printers.

10 The printers were named Maciej Wirzbięta and Aleksy Rodecki. For an overview of Reformation publishing in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth cf. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Janusz Tazbir, 'The book and the Reformation in Poland,' in Jean-François Gilmont (ed.), *The Reformation and the Book*, transl. K. Maag (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998). See also Janusz Tazbir, *A state without stakes: Polish religious toleration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (New York: Kościuszko Foundation, 1973).

11 Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Cenzura w dawnej Polsce*, pp. 28–30, 36–37.

12 Ibid., p. 134.

It is important to remember that the sixteenth century incidents, however, could also be semi-official and that they could be the acts of both Catholic and Protestant censorship.¹³ It should also be remembered that since 1573 confessional freedom in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was guaranteed by the Statute of General Toleration by the Confederation of Warsaw. And although King Sigismund II Augustus signed the constitutions of the Council of Trent in 1564, Catholic Bishops of the Commonwealth officially accepted them as late as 1577, and the implementation of the canons took several decades.¹⁴ The *Index librorum prohibitorum* was not published in Poland before 1603.¹⁵

The situation started to change quickly in 1617 with the ordination of Marcin Szyszkowski as the new Bishop of the diocese in Kraków. Educated in Jesuit schools, first in Pułtusk in Poland, then in the Collegium Romanum in Rome, Szyszkowski paid more attention to matters of censorship – both preventive and repressive – than his predecessors. He began his office with the publication of the third and last Polish edition of *Index*. He also called meetings for Kraków printers and booksellers, and informed them that they could not publish or sell any books without approbation from a censor appointed by the bishop. Printers or sellers of unapproved publications were to be punished with fines and suspension. The bishop's regulations were published in 1621.¹⁶ Szyszkowski in fact implemented regulations which were long present in the Polish law, but he was the first Bishop to have succeeded in this field. Printers were punished with considerable fines for publishing without proper approbation, even when they were publishing books that were in accordance with the Catholic faith and the moral teachings of the Church. To give an example, a printer named Maciej Jędrzejowczyk (d. 1638) had to pay 100 złotys and was suspended in his profession for two months after printing a book by a Franciscan friar who had obtained approbation from his superiors but not from the bishop. It was of

13 For a list of exceptions in English see Kawecka-Gryczowa, Tazbir, 'The book and the Reformation in Poland': Tazbir, *A state without stakes*, p. 142.

14 On the state of research on Early Modern Polish Catholicism see Stolarski, *Friars on the frontier*, pp. 1–19.

15 The publication was ordered by Bishop Bernard Maciejowski. See *Index librorum prohibitorum* (Cracoviae: Andreas Petricovius, 1603).

16 See *Reformationes Generales ad Clerum et populum Dioecesis Cracoviensis* (Cracoviae: Andreas Petricovius, 1621). On Szyszkowski and his role in tightening of book censorship in Kraków see Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Cenzura w dawnej Polsce*, pp. 142–146. On Szyszkowski's education and career see Krzysztof Rafał Prokop, *Sylwetki biskupów łuckich* (Biały Dunajec: Ośrodek Wołanie z Wołynia, 2001), pp. 65–70.

no matter that the book was revised and approved for distribution during the printer's trial.¹⁷

In the face of a conflict with the Jesuits and the tightening censorship regulations, the University remembered that revising books before print was one of its traditional prerogatives. And indeed, one of the deans, Jakub Najman (1584–1641), took advantage of his position and persuaded the abovementioned Maciej Jędrzejowczyk to print an anti-Jesuit pamphlet *Zniesienie obrony collegium pp. jezuitów* [A Rebuttal to the Defense of the Jesuit College]. A short formula of censorial approbation was placed on the title page, despite the fact that the book was not reviewed by an episcopal censor – a clear manifestation of the Dean's independence in censorial prerogatives. Interviewed at the consistory court the printer explained that he did not suppose it was a crime to print a book brought to him by the Dean himself. In a similar situation another printer heard from an episcopal official that he should sue the Dean. Nevertheless, both of the printers were punished.¹⁸

The task undertaken by Szyszkowski was not easy. From the start his situation was aggravated by tensions between the Jesuits and the University. Szyszkowski was in control of school matters in his episcopal see and both the Jesuits and the Academy had their expectations. The Jesuits hoped for his support on the basis of the Papal Bull issued in 1571 by Pius V, but at the same time they were aware that it might never come.¹⁹ As the Bishop of Kraków, Szyszkowski, was automatically the Chancellor of the University. Put in this inconvenient position, the Bishop was reluctant to take any radical actions and therefore limited himself to exhortations of peace between the two institutions. In his letters to the deans he usually expressed his love for the University and promised that if the Roman Rota decided against the Jesuits, he would close their school in Kraków. He added, however, that if the Rota decided to the contrary, he would implement its sentence nevertheless. Szyszkowski also mentioned in a letter that “przez wszytek czas żywota mego żadna mię sprawa bardziej nie ufrasowała, nie natrapiała i więcej mi zdrowia nie ujęła” – “nothing in the world brought me as many troubles and sorrows and harmed my health more” than the conflict.²⁰

17 Renata Żurkowa, ‘Kłopoty z Temidą Krakowskiego drukarza Macieja Jędrzejowczyka,’ *Rocznik Biblioteki PAN w Krakowie*, 40 (1995), p. 22.

18 Ibid., p. 25; Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Cenzura w dawnej Polsce*, p. 118.

19 Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw 1620–1629*, p. 209.

20 Jagiellonian Library, MS 227, fol. 198, 271, 365 (copies of Szyszkowski's letters to the Dean of 8 September 1623, 7 April 1625 and 26 June 1625).

Nomine Supresso: Publishing of Polemical Pamphlets

By the time the conflict between the Jesuits and the University erupted with full strength after 1622, both sides knew what power a well-written polemical pamphlet possessed. The Society of Jesus had had almost forty years of experience in publishing polemical pamphlets in the Commonwealth, therefore they knew what was expected by the reading public. The first phase of anti-Jesuit writings, dated from 1578 to approximately 1606, was a time of doctrinal controversy amongst various Christian confessions. At the time of the mutiny of the nobility (*szlachta*) against the King in 1606–1609, the focus shifted from Christian doctrine to politics, and the medium shifted from print to manuscript. Polemical writings published in Toruń in 1614–1616 dealt with morals and mores. Publications of the time often took the form of short printed news pamphlets intended to provide up-to-date information. The last phase of the polemic, in the years 1622–1634, concentrated on matters of education in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and was rooted in controversy between the University and the Jesuits.²¹ All in all, the polemic with the Jesuits shifted from a Catholic–Protestant religious exchange to an inter-Catholic debate of clearly propagandist nature.

During the reign of Sigismund III Vasa (1566–1632), polemical writings were considered an important source of information.²² To ensure better circulation and, surely, to avoid possible troubles, at least a portion of the pamphlets were not intended for the commercial circulation (much easier for the authorities to control), but were distributed for free. On 23 February 1623 the Canon of Warmia, Andrzej Zagórny (d. 1634) wrote a letter to the Dean, describing how a Jesuit pamphlet – he called it “one of monstrosities born near the sea” – was printed and distributed. The Jesuits oversaw the printing in Braniewo (Braunsberg) and then gave copies of the book entitled *Eventilatio literarum quas Basilius Golinius Academiae Cracoviensis Rector...scripsit* [A Winnowing of the Letter of Basilius Golinius, Rector of the University in Kraków] to local priests.²³ Another example of free circulation can be found in a short letter written from Warszawa to Jakub Najman by Jan Brożek, who was agitating

21 Periodisation of anti-Jesuit writings is based on Stec, *Literacki kształt polskich polemik antyjezuickich*, passim.

22 Urszula Augustyniak, *Informacja i propaganda w Polsce za Zygmunta III* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1981), pp. 99–111.

23 Gregorius Borastus, *Eventilatio literarum quas Basilius Golinius Academiae Cracoviensis Rector scripsit* (Brunsbergae: Georgius Schonfels, 1623); Jagiellonian Library, MS 227, fol. 107r.

for the University's case among the members of the Polish-Lithuanian Sejm. Brożek was glad that he received copies of a pamphlet and at the same time expressed regret that there were only thirty of them.²⁴ It is also to be noted that the circulation of some of the pamphlets was limited territorially. Such was the case of the above mentioned *Eventilatio*, intended for northern parts of the Commonwealth and sent in three copies to Kraków by Zagórny. Another pro-Jesuit pamphlet, *Proca Dawidowa* [David's Slingshot] by Stanisław Zakrzewski (d.1631), came into the hands of Jakub Najman by chance: he received it from an innkeeper who had earlier received it from another guest in his tavern.²⁵ Similar testimonies are to be found in other cases.²⁶

Keeping a publication of a polemical pamphlet secret from the adversary had some obvious advantages. First of all, there was more time for the pamphlet to exercise an impact on the reader before a response could be published.²⁷ The writing and publishing of responses was a crucial part of polemical games and not responding was taken as a sign of weakness or surrender. Even books that were condemned and burnt were answered. Andrzej Zagórny urged Jakub Najman to compose a quick response to *Eventilatio*. He wrote that "inscitiam et ignaviam obiiciunt Academici, jeśli się wymownie i rzetelnie nie ozwą" – "the Academics will show ignorance and cowardice if they shall not speak eloquently and earnestly." Some time later, the innkeeper that the Dean met on his journey started a conversation by asking if all academics in Kraków had died of a recent plague, as there was no response to the *Proca Dawidowa*.²⁸

The publishing and distributing of an anonymous book usually presented some difficulties. On the one hand, the anonymity of both the author and the printer gave the book a semi-subversive character. Books of this kind were considered suspicious by Church authorities even in sixteenth century

24 Jagiellonian Library, MS 227, fol. 546.

25 Draft of a letter from Jakub Najman to Stanisław Zakrzewski, Jagiellonian Library, MS 227, fol. 135; Stanisław Zakrzewski, *Proca Dawidowa* (place of publication and name of the publisher not identified, 1623).

26 For example a pamphlet against Piotr Skarga and the Jesuits in general distributed in Pomerania and Germany, see Daniel Kramer, *Von der Heuptfrage, An Haeretico sit fides servanda Eine erschreckliche Jesuiter Predigt* (Leipzig: Jakob Gaubisch, 1602). Kramer's book was also published in 1601 without place of publication and publisher's name. See also Skarga's response: Piotr Skarga, *Wsiadane na wojnę kazanie* (Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1602).

27 It pertains also to the distribution of manuscript pasquinades (Augustyniak: *Informacja i propaganda*, p. 100).

28 Draft of a letter from Jakub Najman to Stanisław Zakrzewski, Jagiellonian Library, MS 227, fol. 135r.

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in the 1620s they became a perfect target for Szyszkowski fighting against unapproved publications.²⁹ On the other hand, if a pamphlet was published in a way that violated the law, that is, anonymously and without the printer's name, it had better chances of survival before other methods of suppression were applied against it. Moreover, the anonymity of polemical pamphlets was accepted by at least a part of the reading public. Andrzej Zagórny not only expected a response but also gave some advice on its publication: "jeśli w Krakowie drukować nie zechcą, do inszego miejsca drukarni puścić" – "if they do not wish to print it in Kraków, you should seek a print shop elsewhere." He even suggested that someone outside the University should be identified as an author.³⁰ The University did not resort to the latter practice, but most of the anti-Jesuit pamphlets connected with the conflict in Kraków were indeed published anonymously outside the city.

Anonymity, although risky, was a useful tool in polemic. The Jesuit attitude towards it is especially interesting. In the second half of the sixteenth century, after the initial surprise, the Jesuits resigned themselves to the lack of effective book censorship in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Occasionally, in the heat of battle, they would even take advantage of the situation and publish books without both the author's and the printer's names. The best examples here are two polemical pamphlets written by Piotr Skarga (1536–1681), the court preacher of Sigismund III Vasa, and published in the 1590s.³¹ Such publications, even if they were in one way or another accepted by superiors, were violating the rules for publications on religious matters set out at the Council of Trent.³²

Anonymous Jesuit publications also appeared in the later period. What is more, Jesuit authors did not hesitate to use pseudonyms. Jan Wielewicki mentions many books published *nomine supresso* and reveals their authors; he also enumerates pen-names used by Polish Jesuits. The Jesuit polemicist

29 Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Cenzura w dawnej Polsce*, p. 148.

30 Jagiellonian Library, MS 227, fol. 107r.

31 Pamphlets anonymously published by Piotr Skarga include: *Upominanie do ewangelików* (Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1592; Poznań: Wdowa i Dziedzice Jana Wolraba, 1592); *Proces konfederacyjnej* ([Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk], 1595); *Proces na konfederacyjną z poprawą i odprawą przeciwnika* ([Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk], 1596); *Dyskurs na konfederacyjną* ([Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk], 1607).

32 Council of Trent, session IV, decree 11, 4. I consulted the Latin-Polish version of the decrees in Arkadiusz Baron, Henryk Pietras (eds.), *Dokumenty Soborów Powszechnych – tekst łaciński i polski*, vol. 4, *Lateran v, Trydent, Watykan I (1511–1870)* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2004), p. 215.

Marcin Łaszcz (1551–1615) used six known aliases.³³ Obtaining approbation for anonymous publications from Jesuit superiors was clearly not an issue and the practice was referred to quite often, even at the beginning of the seventeenth century. But, when Szyszkowski tightened episcopal control over publications, an internal Jesuit approbation proved insufficient. Instead of revealing their names, the Jesuits sought another solution. In order to adhere to the letter of the regulations they asked local bishops to approve anonymous prints, to which the bishops agreed.

Sources dealing with the publication of *Krótką sprawą o nowym kolegium ojców Societatis Iesu* [A Brief information on the New Jesuit College] provide useful insight into this matter.³⁴ The text was written by Mateusz Bembus (ca. 1567–1645), a prominent Polish Jesuit and preacher. His brethren wanted to suppress the author's name, in the vain hope that the book would be regarded as impartial. At the same time the Society wanted to be dissociated from the anonymous and unapproved publications condemned by bishops' edicts. For this reason they asked Bishop Szyszkowski for censorial approbation. The Bishop appointed as his censor Marcin Kłociński (1562–1644), Provost at the Corpus Christi Basilica in Kraków. In a letter written to Kłociński on 27 November 1625 by Fryderyk Szembek, a Jesuit and one of the principal promoters of the college in Kraków, we learn that the censor read the text and asked for some changes to be made before he could give his approbation. In his letter, Szembek assured the censor that all necessary modifications were made and asked him to inscribe the approbation that had already been promised by the Bishop. Szembek included in his letter a formula that Kłociński was to copy onto the manuscript of *Krótką sprawą* and confirm with his signature.³⁵ It is impossible to gauge Szembek's motivation for the inclusion of the formula in his letter. Perhaps it was meant to hasten the publication before the Polish-Lithuanian Sejm convened, as he wanted to make sure that everything would be done properly or perhaps he expected difficulties. In any case, he decided that providing Kłociński with a ready formula was necessary.

In his history of the Jesuits in Kraków, Jan Wielewicki included a paragraph that continues this story. According to him, Kłociński was clearly reluctant to

33 Jan Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego OO. Jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie od r. 1608 do r. 1619* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1889), pp. 149–150. See also Ludwik Grzebień, *Słownik jezuitów polskich 1564–1990* (Kraków, publisher not identified, 1993), vol. 7, p. 9.

34 [Mateusz Bembus], *Krótką sprawą o nowym kolegium ojców Societatis Iesu u Świętego Piotra w Krakowie* (Kraków: [Antoni Wosiński], 1625).

35 Jagiellonian Library, MS 227, fol. 315.

give the approbation and “did not do it as it ought to be done.” He did not write it down to avoid possible trouble, but gave it viva voce and told the Jesuits to print a standard formula on the title page: “Cum scitu et consensus Ordinariorum.” Indeed, *Krótką sprawą* appeared with a similar Polish phrase on the title page: “Za wiadomością i wyraźnem dozwoleńiem urzędu duchownego” – “With the knowledge and explicit approbation of the ecclesiastical office.”³⁶

Suppressing *Libelli Famosi*

A substantial part of late sixteenth-century polemical writings originated from private and public discussions between Protestants and the Jesuits. Printed books transposed the debate into the public realm. That was the case with Andrzej Wolan (ca. 1530–1610) and Piotr Skarga (1536–1612), who conducted private disputes about the Eucharist in the house of Augustinus Rotundus Milesius (ca. 1520–1582) in Vilnius in the 1570s. Their controversy was made public by Wolan.³⁷ Another Jesuit, Marcin Śmiglecki (1564–1618), conducted a public dispute with the Calvinist Daniel Mikołajewski (1560–1633) in Vilnius in 1599.³⁸ Their controversy was also continued in print. Writings published at that time were of different value; usually the longer the debate, the less substantial and more personal it became. That being said, only two burnings of anti-Jesuit books are known from the time. In 1578 in Poznań, a book by the Calvinist Jan Niemojewski (between 1526 and 1530–1598), entitled *Diatrybe*, was burned and the print shop of Melchior Nering (d. 1587) destroyed by agents of Bishop Łukasz Kościelecki (1539–1597). The printer was whipped and exiled from the city. The second pamphlet was *Equitis Poloni in Iesuitas actio prima* (1590).³⁹ As late as the 1610s, Arian or Anti-Trinitarian writings were still being

36 Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw...* 1620–1629, p. 229.

37 Piotr Skarga, *Pro sacratissima eucharistia* (Wilno: Drukarnia Radziwiłłowska, 1576), p. 4. See also Andrzej Wolan, *Vera et orthodoxa vetusque in Ecclesia sententia* (Łosk, 1574). For the most complete overview of Skarga's polemic with Wolan see Edward Świącki, ‘Skarga jako obrońca katolickiej nauki o Eucharystii,’ *Przegląd Teologiczny*, 9 (1928), pp. 23–38, 112–146, 226–252. According to Świącki, Wolan's book was condemned by the Bishop of Vilnius Eustachy Wołłowicz, but there are no records of its burning (p. 114).

38 More on polemical exchanges conducted in Vilnius see Jakub Niedźwiedź, *Kultura literacka Wilna: Retoryczna organizacja miasta* (Kraków: Universitas, 2014), pp. 292–297.

39 Tazbir (*A state without stakes*, p. 142) does not give a source of information on Nering's punishment and on burning of *Diatrybe* and *Equitis Poloni in Iesuitas actio prima*. Compare Ludwik Grzebień, Jacek Wiesiołowski (eds.), *Kronika jezuitów poznańskich młodsza*, vol. 1, 1570–1653 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Miejskie, 2004), p. 45; Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa,

refuted. But during the battle between the Jesuits and the University, decisive remedies, such as condemnation and burning, were applied not to Protestant, or 'heretical' books, but to Catholic pamphlets that focused principally on the matters of Jesuit education.

Reasons for such different reactions to books published over this fifty-year time span are complex. On a more general plane, it represented a shift from the more tolerant attitudes of the sixteenth century to a Counter-Reformation view of the world, completed around 1620.⁴⁰ On a more specific level, various strategies of publishing pamphlets and weakening the influence of those already in circulation, are connected to Bishop Marcin Szyszkowski's attempts to tighten book censorship in Kraków. The Jesuits, who knew the workings of censorship well enough, took advantage of this situation. At the time of the conflict with the University, their strategy was to prove that the most dangerous pamphlets were *libelli famosi*, or pamphlets harming another person's reputation. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, such publications, especially those defaming the members of the nobility, had been banned by the King's decree since 1537.⁴¹ To promote their own cause, the Jesuits referred not only to this law, but also to the regulations published in the *Index librorum prohibitorum* that forbade the defamation of clergymen. Indeed in Jesuit responses, and other writings, pamphlets written by academics were not usually called '*książki*' in Polish ('books' in English), but '*paskwilusze*' and '*kartelusze*' ('pasquinades' and 'squibs' in English).⁴² The Jesuits saw to it that key anti-Jesuit publications were read by bishops and papal legates, who then issued appropriate decrees. This could also lead to more radical solutions and interventions by the lay authorities.

In 1615, two years before the Jesuits began preparations for the opening of their College in Kraków, a decree condemning an anti-Jesuit book was issued by the Bishop of Kraków diocese, Piotr Tylicki (1543–1616) and the Papal Legate, Francesco Diatelevis. The decree was reissued a year later by Andrzej Lipski (1572–1661).⁴³ The edicts listed *Monita privata Societatis Jesu* [Secret

Krystyna Korotajowa, Jan Sójka (eds.), *Drukarze dawnej Polski: od XV do XVIII wieku*, vol. 3, Part 1, *Wielkopolska* (Wrocław: ZNIO, 1977), pp. 176–178.

40 Polish Catholicism in this period is underresearched. Compare Augustyniak, *Informacja i propaganda*, p. 107 and Stolarski, *Friars on the frontier*, pp. 1–7.

41 Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Cenzura w dawnej Polsce*, p. 34.

42 The Old-Polish word *paskwilusz* could refer to short, single-sheet texts as well as to books. Compare Augustyniak, *Informacja i propaganda w Polsce*, p. 99.

43 See Szembek, *Gratis plebański*, pp. 253–255. Lipski's decree was reprinted there. The manuscript of Lipski's decree is attached to Wielewicki's manuscript, now in the library of the Society of Jesus in Kraków. Compare Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw... 1609–1619*, p. 180.

Instructions of the Jesuit Order], a well-known work by an ex-Jesuit monk Hieronim Zahorowski (1582–1634).⁴⁴ In 1617, Szyszkowski issued a similar edict and mentioned in it the titles of two books: *Monita privata* and *Cathedra*. Szyszkowski used this document to remind his flock that they should not read any books that were not approved by Church authorities.⁴⁵ Both *Monita privata* and *Cathedra* were answered by the Jesuits. The first book connected to the conflict condemned by both the Church authorities and the King and then burned, was *Responsio ad famosum libellum a Patribus Societatis in Academiam Cracoviensem scriptum* [Response to a Pamphlet Written by the Jesuit Fathers against the University of Kraków], published anonymously in Toruń in 1623. A decree by Szyszkowski was followed by a similar document, issued by the Bishop of Poznań, Andrzej de Bnin Opaliński (1575–1623).⁴⁶ Not surprisingly, the decrees did not prevent the circulation of the booklet. Jesuits discovered that five hundred copies were brought to Warsaw by the King's courtier, Jerzy Nowodworski. Nowodworski hired a binder who bound the books in the castle at night. The secret leaked and Nowodworski was arrested and sentenced to three months detention. The king banned the printing and selling of the *Responsio* and ordered its public burning.⁴⁷

The matter was not dropped at this point and a search for the author was conducted. A special commission, appointed by the Bishop of Kraków and the Papal Nuncio Giovanni Battista Lancelotti (1575–1655), tried to identify the writer among the academics.⁴⁸ Not surprisingly, the search proved fruitless. The University refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the commission despite the authority of the legate. This bold act did not meet with any consequences. It is assumed that both the commission and the University knew that the writer behind both *Responsio* and *Cathedra* was the Dean of the University, Jakub

Lipski's decree is also known in a printed version (Buchwald-Pelcowa: *Cenzura w dawnej Polsce*, pp. 118, 245).

44 See Sabina Pavone, 'Between History and Myth: *Monita Privata Societatis Jesu*,' in John O'Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, T. Frank Kennedy (eds.), *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 50–65.

45 Szyszkowski's decree was reprinted in Szembek, *Gratis plebański*, pp. 113–116. See also Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw... 1609–1619*, pp. 202–203.

46 Both decrees were reprinted in Szembek, *Gratis plebański*, pp. 266–273. The printed original of Opaliński's decree is attached to Wielewicki's manuscript, now in the library of the Society of Jesus in Kraków.

47 See Szembek, *Gratis plebański*, pp. 274–276.

48 Lancelotti also issued an edict condemning *responsio*, see Szembek, *Gratis plebański*, pp. 279–290.

Najman himself. According to Jesuit sources, the commission had to abandon the investigation due to pressures from Prince Jerzy Zbaraski (1573–1631). It was believed that he edited the text of *Responsio* before its publication.⁴⁹

Another piece of polemic that came from the University was Jan Brożek's *Gratis*, printed without the printer's and the author's name in 1625. The case of this book, justifiably regarded as the masterpiece of anti-Jesuit literature in Poland, is often cited in Polish scholarship.⁵⁰ It is not clear how, but the Jesuits intercepted letters written by the author of *Gratis*, Jan Brożek, Professor of Mathematics in the University, to his printer, Andrzej Piotrkowczyk from Wielkanoc near Kraków. This time the secular authorities were the first to react. The printer, working mainly for the Calvinist minister in his village, was sentenced to public lashing and expelled from the city of Kraków on 25 November 1625. The book was burned in the main market square in Kraków; the Jesuits did not reveal the author's name to the public.⁵¹

The case had further repercussions in the printers' milieu in the city. On the same day, another printer, Franciszek Cezary (1583–1651), a Catholic residing in Kraków, was harassed by the authorities in his own flat because he dared to speak in defence of his whipped colleague. Three weeks later, on 14 December, students of the University of Kraków demolished the print shop of Antoni Wosiński (d. 1651) because he published the abovementioned *Krótką sprawą* for the Jesuits. The printer's apprentice was caught and copies of the booklet found in the print shop were burned in the four corners of the market square.⁵²

Records of violence, both legal and illegal, towards printers in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are scarce and such a flurry of activity over the

49 See also Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw... 1619–1629*, pp. 127–139; Stanisław Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, vol. 2 (Lwów: Drukarnia Ludowa, 1901). Despite these actions *Responsio* was republished abroad, with Edinburgh (Edimburgi) identified on a title page as a place of publication, see: *Controuersia illustris, hoc est, Responsio ad libellum a patribus Societatis Iesu contra rectorem & Vniuersitatem Cracouiensem scriptum (...)* ex archetypo Cracouiensi impressum (Edimburgi: publisher not identified, 1625).

50 For a summary see Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Cenzura w dawnej Polsce*, p. 17.

51 Szembek, *Gratis plebański*, fol. A1v–A2r; Brożek, *Wybór pism*, pp. 475–476.

52 According to Wojciech Węgierski, *Kronika zboru ewangelickiego Krakowskiego... 1651* (place of publication and publisher not identified, 1817, pp. 78–79) a Catholic print shop at Mikołajska Street (where Wosiński lived and worked) was demolished because copies of *Gratis* were found there. The information is inaccurate, as are other details pertaining to the conflict between the University and the Jesuits (compare Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw... 1620–1629*, pp. 226–228). Tazbir describes the incident most probably after Węgierski. Cf. Janusz Tazbir in *A State Without Stakes: Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, transl. A.T. Jordan (New York, 1973), p. 142.

space of a three-week time span was highly unusual. After these incidents, the Jesuits stopped publishing their anti-University writings in Kraków. A response to Brożek's *Gratis* – Fryderyk Szembek's *Gratis plebański* – was published in 1627 in Poznań, and another Jesuit book was published in Warsaw.⁵³ Printers in Kraków and authors were safe but the books were not – for example, a copy of Szembek's work was burned by the University students in the Market Square in Kraków.⁵⁴ It was not entirely safe to print other books by Jesuit authors. In 1632, for instance, when Franciszek Cezary printed a volume of Grzegorz Knapski's (1564–1639) *Thesaurus trium linguarum*, students of the University overturned a cart full of books that were being transported from Cezary's print shop to the Jesuit College.⁵⁵ The second edition of the *Thesaurus*, published in 1643, contained another trace of the conflict: Knapski excluded from it the name of Jan Brożek, mentioned favourably in an earlier impression.⁵⁶

Conclusion

Printed books connected to the conflict between the Jesuits and the University of Kraków in 1622–1634 were published “in the eye of the storm.” Partly because of proximity to the centre of affairs, they can nowadays be considered as a lens that magnifies and focuses various problems of publishing in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Of these, especially interesting are the workings of the tightening book censorship. The fight between the Jesuits and the University was fierce and no other non-religious conflict in the Commonwealth at the time resulted in the publication in print of as many polemical pamphlets. Publication of such writings usually involved methods unapproved by both secular and Church authorities, such as concealing the identity of the author, the place of publication or the name of the printer. It meant that from the very beginning of the battle for the Jesuit College in Krakow, books were not only a weapon but also a target. Difficulties experienced by authors and consequences faced by printers show how the system of reviewing books before publication was gradually perfected and how the rules set over five decades earlier at

53 [Mateusz Bembus], *Obrona kolegium Krakowskiego stanom koronnym na sejmie walnym warszawskim A.D. 1627 zgromadzonym do uważenia podana* (Warszawa: Jan Rossowski, 1627).

54 Wielewicz, *Dziennik spraw...* 1619–1629, pp. 287–288.

55 Jan Wielewicz, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego oo. Jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie 1630–1639* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 1999), p. 118.

56 Brożek, *Wybór pism*, pp. 434, 517–518, 609.

the Council of Trent were finally implemented in the officially Catholic Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1620s. Each side of the conflict in Kraków chose a different set of strategies to protect and promote their own publications and to suppress writings published by the adversary. The Jesuits decided to adhere closely to the law. The University astutely preferred unofficial methods.

The abundance of pamphlets that appeared in print during the conflict between the Jesuits and the University can probably be explained by the nature of the two quarrelling institutions. Apart from the Jesuits and the academics, there were probably not many men in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth who could make better use of the written word and the printing press to shape opinions. As men of books and intellectuals, they were reading, writing and publishing on a daily basis. The battle surrounding the Jesuit College in Kraków confirms their knowledge of the book trade realities and their ability to navigate crisscrossing jurisdictions and imperfect legislation pertaining to book censorship.

Last but not least, it should be noted that in the Commonwealth of the 1620s rules and laws created in the sixteenth century to protect Catholic doctrine and to prevent the spread of Protestant ideas were used to suppress Catholic books that did not refer to doctrinal matters. Their condemnation and burning was usually justified in two ways, either that they defamed the Jesuit Order or their failure to meet formal requirements of episcopal censorship. These requirements and limitations influenced the way the fight against the books was conducted. Conversely, strategies and solutions chosen by both sides served to promote the consolidation and reinforcement of the letter of the law and the formalisation of book censorship in seventeenth century Poland.

Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1549–1616): Prince, Patron and Printer

Clarinda Calma

In a letter to the Rector of the English College in Rome dated 5 October 1580, English priest and scholar, William Sheprey (1540–1598), then employed as chaplain to Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, Archbishop of Bologna (1522–1597) writes: “There is a Prince or greate Duke of Lithuania that hath been in Bononie [Bologna] about halfe a yeare; and the cheefe cause of his coming (we hear) was to learne religion...renouncing all the errors, the Schismatical and Diabolical and Paganical acts and opinions of that of his corrupted countrie.”¹ The Duke, spoken of here, is, no doubt, Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł the Orphan (1549–1616) who travelled to Italy in February 1580 for health reasons and who hoped, as the Papal Nuncio to Poland, Giovanni Andrea Caligari (1527–1613) writes to Tolomeo Gallio, the Cardinal of Como, Papal secretary of State (1527–1607), to travel further on pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.² The journey to the Holy Land would be postponed as Radziwiłł the Orphan, on request of Stephan Bathory (1533–1586), King of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was asked to return to Lithuania to help with the Siege of Velikiye Luki on July 1580, as part of the military campaign to regain Livonia from the Muscovites. Two years later, after the final stage of the Livonian Wars, which ended with the Siege of Pskov in the years 1581–1582, Radziwiłł resumed his initial project of visiting the Holy Land. This spectacular peregrination, which took the Duke and his cohort from Venice, Tripoli, Damascus to the Holy Land travelling through Egypt, Crete and Italy on his return, lasted two years from 1582 to 1584 and was recounted in his *Peregrynacja do Ziemi Świętej* [Peregrination to the Holy Land] (Figure 6.1). Translated into Latin by Thomas Treter (1547–1610) canon

1 George, Bruner Parks (ed.), *Gregory Martin's Roma Sancta 1581* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1969), pp. 263–264. The research findings presented are drawn from a research investigation project ‘Subversive Publications and Seditious Publishing in Modern England and Poland: A Comparative Study’ which is generously funded by the National Science Centre of Poland under project number DEC 2011/01/D/HS2/03125.

2 Cited after Tomasz Kempa, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2000) p. 114. Kempa quotes a letter which Giovanni Caligari writes to the Cardinal of Como 9 February 1580 in Ludwigi Boratyński (ed.), *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticanae* (Vol. 4., Kraków: E. Kuntze, 1948), p. 382, no. 224.



FIGURE 6.1 Title page of Mikolaj Krzysztof Radziwill's *Hierosolymitana Peregrinatio* translated into Latin by Thomas Treter, printed in Braniewo in 1601 by Georg Schonfels. PHOTO BY PHOTOGRAPHY SERVICES OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF KRAKÓW, FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF KRAKÓW, INVOICE NO. MNK VIII-XVII-99

of Ermland and former secretary to Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius (1504–1579) and printed by Georg Schonfels in Braniewo in 1601, the *Hierosolymitana peregrinatio* would become a tremendously popular work. It would be an important personal testimony of pious conversion, being also the first travel journal of its kind in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which spoke of such exotic lands and cultures.³

An Illustrious and Most Learned Prince

Born into a staunch Calvinist family in Ćmielów in 1547, Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł the Orphan was the eldest son of Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Black (1515–1565), Grand Marshall of the Great Duchy of Lithuania and Elżbieta Szydłowiecka (1533–1562), the youngest daughter of the Chancellor to the Polish Crown and Castellan of the Royal Town of Kraków, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki (1467–1532).⁴ Radziwiłł the Black was made the Grand Duke of Lithuania in 1550, three years after he had acquired for himself and his family the title of ‘prince,’ as confirmed by the Polish King, Sigismund II Augustus in 1549. Radziwiłł the Black was also the protector of Calvinists and later of Anti-Trinitarians (also known as Arians, or Polish Brethren) in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania who established Nieśwież, located southeast of Vilnius, as its most important centre for printing and worship.

There was much hope amongst Lithuanian Protestants that Radziwiłł the Orphan, being the eldest son of the Grand Marshall, would continue his

3 This was an extremely popular work which had up to fourteen editions, four Latin editions, Braniewo (1601), Antwerp (1614), Taurini (1753) and Cassoviae (1756); six Polish editions, Kraków (1607, 1628, 1683, two editions in 1745) and Wrocław (1847); two German translations and two Russian translations. The German titles of the *Hierosolymitana peregrinatio* are *Juengst geschebene Hierosolimitanische Reise* (Mainz, 1603) whilst the later edition was printed as part of a collection entitled *Reisbuch in das H. Land* (Frankfurt, 1609). There were also two Russian translations – one in the eighteenth and the other in the nineteenth centuries, *Putieszestwie ko swiatym miastem i w Jegipiet* (Petersburg, 1787) and *Pochożdienije w Ziemi Swiatuju* (Peterburg: A. Hildtebrandt, 1879). Cf. Roman Pollack, *Bibliografia Literatury Polskiej Nowy Korbut Piśmienictwo Staropolskie* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1965). Volume III, pp. 153–155.

4 This short biographical account draws mainly on the following sources: Tomasz Kempa, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2000); Henryk Lulewicz, ‘Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł,’ [in] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1987), pp. 349–360; Roman Pollack, *Bibliografia Literatury Polskiej Nowy Korbut Piśmienictwo Staropolskie* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1965). Volume III, pp. 153–155.

father's legacy as patron of Calvinists. From his youth, Radziwiłł the Orphan was thus educated in the Protestant faith receiving his education from the finest tutors in the Grand Duchy and the best Protestant schools in Tübingen and Strasbourg. He began his early education at home under the tutelage of eminent Polish humanist Jan Łaski (1499–1560) and Italian religious reformer Pier Paolo Vergerio (1498–1565). Already as a young man, Radziwiłł enjoyed a reputation of being a gifted pupil with a great love for learning. Vergerio in fact dedicated his Latin translation of Juan de Valdes's (1509–1541) catechism for children, entitled *Lac spirituale, pro alendis ac educandis christianorum pueris* (1554) to the young and talented Prince. Later on, during his years in Tübingen, two other teachers would dedicate their books to the young 'exceptional' pupil. Tübingen Mathematics teacher Conrad Dasypodius (1532–1600) dedicated to Radziwiłł two of his books on Euclidian geometry both printed in Argentorati (Strasbourg) in 1564, *Euclidis xv elementorum geometriae primum et secundum* (1564) and *Propositiones reliquorum librorum Geometriae Euclidis gra in usum eorum, qui volumine Euclidis carent* (1564). Deeply impressed by the Prince's love of learning, Martin Crusius (1526–1607), also dedicated to him his book on Greek poetry, *Poetarum Graecorum* (1567), including a portrait of the young Prince during his student years in Tübingen, praising his young pupil for his "burning love for learning and Greek literature" (Figure 6.2).⁵

5 "Tuae vero Celsitudini, Illustrissime Princeps, pluribus honestis causis impulsus, dicare volui. Primum, quod illustrissima Celsitudo tua, litterarum & omnis virtutis amantissima, inter alios qui hic docent, excellentes viros, me humilem quoque egregia benevolentia & liberalitate complexa est. ...Postremo, me vel maxime haec causa movit. Tanto amore litterarum & eruditionis tua Celsitudo flagrat, ut (quod rarum exemplum in tanta nobilitate est) in terras longinquas iter suscipere non dubitaverit: ac primo ad tempus Argentorati fuerit: nunc vero biennium fere hic Tybingae versetur: idque summa erga eruditos viros, & cives, humanitate, amabili gravitate mixta. ...Dignus profecto NICOLAO RADZIVVILO, Palatino de Vilna, piaie & illustrissimae memoriae Principe, filius: dignus illustri & fortissimo contra Moscoviticam gentem Heroe, Domino NICOLAO RADZIVVILO, Palatino de Troki, ex patruale eius nepos." [To Your Highness, Most Illustrious Prince, I wished to dedicate this book, moved by many honourable motives. Firstly, for Thee Most Illustrious Highness, who most unexceptionably delight in literature and every virtue, who amongst all of the eminent men who study here, showered upon me, a man of low estate, such exceptional kindness and generosity...And lastly, that reason which moved me most is that Your Highness burns with such great love for literature and learning (a rare quality amongst such noblemen) that you did not doubt in travelling to such distant lands. First spending some time in Strasbourg, and now spending almost two years here in Tübingen, and [gifted] with such highest kindness before all learned men and citizens, coupled with such charming elegance...truly, son of the worthy, holy and great memory of Mikołaj Radziwiłł, wojewoda of Vilnius, grandson of the great and brave hero of the war with Moscow, Lord Mikołaj Radziwiłł wojewoda of Trokai, cousin of Your



FIGURE 6.2 A portrait of the young Mikolaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, fo. b recto found in Martin Crusius' *Poematum graecorum libri duo* Printed in Basil in 1576.

COURTESY OF THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY IN KRAKÓW, SHELFMARK CIM.
QU 5501

In 1563, Prince Radziwiłł, a young man of fourteen, had traveled abroad under the care of his uncle Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Red (1512–1584) and the Polish diplomat, Calvinist, Hieronim Makowiecki (d. 1582). He first enrolled in the gymnasium in Strasbourg where the famed reformer, Johannes Sturm (1507–1589) taught. In 1564, Radziwiłł attended lectures in the prominently Lutheran university of Tübingen, where he learned Latin, Greek, Rhetoric and Roman Law under such teachers as Roman law scholar, Stephan Culing (1555–1585) and Greek professor, Martin Crusius (1526–1607). During these years, Radziwiłł traveled widely across Europe, to be educated in the ways of the court, in foreign languages, such as German and French, and most importantly in the theology of the Protestant faith. In the spring of 1565 Radziwiłł returned to the Grand Duchy upon receiving word of his father's death. In keeping with his father's will, Radziwiłł then resumed his travels throughout Western Europe, most probably later in that same year. In March 1566, Radziwiłł reached Augsburg to take part in the Imperial Diet of the Holy Roman Empire, which convened there. It was there that he met the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II (1527–1567) and the Papal Legate, Giovanni Francesco Commendone (1524–1584) for the first time. Tomasz Kempa in his biography of Radziwiłł the Orphan speculates that this first encounter with Commendone would prove instrumental for the later conversion of the young prince, especially as the Cardinal personally invited the prince to consider including Rome in his itinerary throughout Italy.⁶ By the autumn of 1566, the Duke reached Rome, where he met Commendone and befriended his secretary Antonio Maria Graziani (1537–1611). The surviving correspondence of Cardinal Commendone's secretary, Antonio Graziani testifies to a personal meeting between Pope Pius V and Radziwiłł. As Graziani wrote, the Eternal City greatly moved the Prince, with all its churches and historical relics of early Christianity such as the catacombs and Coliseum. "The Prince," wrote Graziani, "did not waste his time. Every day he would visit a new church, the holy relics, participating in Holy Mass and taking Holy Communion."⁷ Throughout the rest of his life, Radziwiłł would maintain personal contacts and epistolary correspondences with high-ranking Cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church.

father [the Father Radziwiłł the Orphan], Cf. Martin Crusius, *Poetarum Graecium Libri Duo*, (Basileae: Per Ioannem Oporinum, 1576), p. 6. Shelfmark Cim. Qu. 5501 copy of the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków, pp. 6–7.

6 Kempa, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł*, pp. 38–39.

7 Antonio Graziani to Mikołaj Tomicki, dated 7 December 1566 [in] Iulii Pogiani, *Sunensis epistolae et orationes olim collectae ab Antonio Maria Gratiano nunc ab Hieronymo Lagomarsinio e Societate Iesu* 1565–1568 (Romae: 1758) p. 177, quoted after, Kempa, Tomasz. *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł* p. 43.

On his return from Rome early in 1567, he was formally acknowledged as the head of the family and assumed supervision over his father's estates. He took part in the failed military campaign at Radoszkowice against the Muscovites initiated by the then King-elect of Poland, King Sigismund II Augustus in 1569 and the Siege of Uła. In the summer of 1569, he participated in the conventions of the Polish Sejm (or Polish Lower House), which approved of the formal Union of the Commonwealth of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. On 20 June 1569, Radziwiłł was nominated Court Marshall of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and from the autumn of 1569, he resided with the then King of Poland, Sigismund II Augustus until the King's death in 1572. From then on, together with his Uncle, Radziwiłł the Red, he would participate actively in politics. And although Radziwiłł did not always personally take part in the election of the Polish-Lithuanian Kings, he would remain a royalist throughout his life, regardless of who was then King of Poland, whether it was Henry of Valois (1551–1589), Stephan Bathory or Sigismund III Vasa (1566–1632). He took part in the diplomatic mission to the King-elect, Henry Valois, of the House of Anjou in 1573 in Paris. During the oath-taking ceremony, Radziwiłł supported Adam Konarski (1526–1574), the Bishop of Poznań in the critique of the Warsaw Confederation of 1573, which provided for religious tolerance. He was a supporter of the House of Habsburgs, represented by Ernest of Habsburg, during the elections of 1574. In November 1574, he took part in the military campaign in defense of Livonia against Ivan the Terrible. However, when he discovered that he had contracted syphilis, Radziwiłł was unable to take part in the elections. It was because of this serious health problem that he withdrew from politics, experienced a second conversion and made a vow to visit the Holy Sepulchre in September of 1575.

Under Bathory, Radziwiłł took part in the other military campaigns against the Muscovites, such as the Battle of Dziwna in 1577 and Battle of Polotsk 1579, where he was seriously wounded. For his participation in the Battle of Polotsk, he was named Grand Marshall of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. A year later he traveled to Italy for health reasons, including Padua, Lucca and Venice in his itinerary. It was during this journey that he made the visit to Cardinal Paleotti in Bologne mentioned in Sheprey's letter quoted earlier in this text. Radziwiłł was then called back in April 1581, to join the royal forces in the Siege of Pskov, which would end with Ivan the Terrible seeking papal intervention for peace. This came in the person of Antonio Possevino SJ, accompanied by Giovanni Paulo Campani SJ, resulting in the Truce of Yam Zapolski in 1583.⁸

8 Both Jesuits left important accounts of the 1581–1582 missions to Ivan the Terrible's court which are important sources of Muscovite Culture. Cf. Antonio Possevino, *Moscovia*, (Vilnae:

In 1582, Radziwiłł began his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Soon after his return in the summer of 1584, he married the Calvinist and later Catholic convert, Elżbieta Wiśniowiecka, daughter of the Wojewoda of Wołyn, Andrzej Wiśniowiecki on 24 November 1584, with whom he had seven children. In 1586 he was nominated Castellan of Trokai and in 1590 the Wojewoda of Trokai, and in 1604 he became Wojewoda of Vilnius. He died on his estate in Nieśwież on 28 February 1616.

Propagator of the Counter-Reformation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Although initially Radziwiłł refused to declare his conversion to Catholicism in 1566 for fear of the reactions from his family, by 1574 he was openly supporting the Counter-Reformation movement and together with the Jesuits would be one of the leading propagators of the Tridentine reforms in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, particularly in the strategic cities of Vilnius and Nieśwież. In Vilnius, Radziwiłł founded the House of Professors of St. Casimirus for the Jesuit Fathers who taught at the Academy of Vilnius. He also entrusted into their care the printing press which he had inherited from his father and had brought 500 km northeast to Vilnius from Brześć Litewski. Vilnius had by this time been growing in rank and importance, next only to the royal capital of Kraków. It was a city which the Jesuits considered a missionary area, being a hotbed of cultures with a religiously diverse population of Orthodox Christians, Calvinists, Anti-Trinitarians, Muslims and Jews. The decision to establish a Jesuit university here, with the Jesuit college turned into an Academy by royal edict in 1579, hence the second university in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was also motivated by the prospects of apostolic expansion to Moscow and Scandinavian countries. The papal interest in this region is best demonstrated by Antonio Possevino's diplomatic mission to Sweden, Poland and the Tsardom of Muscovy in the years 1578–1583. During these year, Possevino also helped found two papal seminaries in the area, one in Braniewo

apud Ioannem Velicensem, 1586) and Ioannes Pauli Campani S.I. *Relatio de itinere Moscovitico* [in] A.M. Amman, "Ante-murale." (1960/1961). Volume VI. pp. 1–85. More on Campiani's and Possevinus' works on Muscovy in Jan Kopiec, "Perspektywy unii Moskwy z Rzymem w opinii o. Jana Pawła Campaniego (1540–1592)" [in] Danuta Quirini-Popławska (ed.), *Antonio Possevino SJ (1533–1611) Życie i dzieło na tle epoki* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Wam, 2012) pp. 287–298.

(Braunsberg) in 1581, another in Vilnius in 1582 which catered for Scandinavian Catholics, Ruthenians pupils and Muscovites in the Baltic region.⁹

Radziwiłł the Orphan would also rebuild the family estate in Nieśwież, employing the Jesuit architect, Giovanni Maria Bernardoni (1541–1605), whom he also commissioned to build the Church of Corpus Christi clearly inspired by the Il Gesu in Rome. It was next to this church that he would establish the Jesuit College. Located 241 km southeast of Vilnius by the River Usza, the town of Nieśwież had been the seat of the Radziwiłł family since 1547, when the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V first granted to Radziwiłł the Black the rights to the lands of Olica and Nieśwież. It was then a small town of Jewish and Ruthenian merchants and Christian peasants, mostly Orthodox Christians. By 1557, after Radziwiłł the Black became Calvinist and protector of Protestants, Calvinists and Arians or members of the Polish Brethren moved to Nieśwież to establish their Churches and run the printing press that Radziwiłł the Black would establish. It was there that the third Polish translation of the Bible, translated by from Latin, Greek and Hebrew by the reformer Szymon Budny (1530–1593) and known as the Bible of Nieśwież was on Radziwiłł the Black's press in 1572.¹⁰

As part of his support for the Counter-Reformation movement, Radziwiłł the Orphan insisted on bringing the Jesuits to found a college and printing press. In the summer of 1582, soon after he established his estate in Nieśwież, Radziwiłł suggested to the Jesuits that they should found a college. This was enthusiastically supported by the Polish Jesuit and Rector of the Academy of Wilno, Piotr Skarga. Nieśwież, the Polish Jesuit had argued, though a small town of about 3,000 inhabitants of Catholics and Orthodox Christians, had a great number of Protestants amongst the nobility, particularly Calvinists who had a printing press. However, due to the shortage of staff, Radziwiłł's first proposal of establishing a college in Nieśwież was refused by the Father General of the Polish province, Giovanni Paulo Campani SJ (1540–1592).

On his return from the Holy Land in 1583, Radziwiłł personally met with the Jesuit Father General, Claudius Acquaviva and Pope Gregory XIII to convince

9 Francisco Sunyar, the vice-provincial of the Polish province, wrote of Wilno, "And this we cannot ignore, that from here the doors to Moscow are opened widely, a from there to lands of the Tartars, from where we shall be able to reach China." *Informatio*, ARSI Pol. 75 f. 316. Cf. Ludwиг Piechnik, *Początki Akademii Wileńskiej*. Jakub Niezwiedź discusses in depth the profound influence of the Academy of Vilnius on the intellectual culture of the city Cf. Jakub Niezwiedź, *Kultura literacka Wilna: 1323–1655* (Kraków: Universitas, 2012), pp. 171–187.

10 Entry on 'Nieśwież' [in] *Encyklopedia Powszechna*, (Warszawa: S. Ongelbranda, 1865), pp. 432–433.

him to grant permission for the erection of the Jesuit College in Nieśwież.¹¹ By early August 1584, two foundational documents formally establishing the College in Nieśwież, were already issued by Campani. Two years later, the college opened its classes in grammar, poetics and rhetoric. The college flourished very quickly – in 1592 it had about 90 students and by 1618 it had up to 140 enrolled. It was second only to Vilnius in the Grand Duchy in being the most popular schools. Radziwiłł, with his personal interest in polemics and religious controversy, took the initiative to open a separate class in religious polemics in 1597. This was especially pertinent as many of the Jesuits from here were to travel to nearby areas classified as ‘missionary areas’ such as Nowogródek, Mińsk and Biała, which were inhabited predominantly by Greek Orthodox Christians. Radziwiłł also established a special bursary for poor pupils in 1589, and donated part of his library to the college. Provenance markings of some of the surviving books that once belonged to the Jesuit College in Nieśwież still bear the ownership of Radziwiłł the Orphan.¹² For instance, there is the copy of the first Latin edition of Edmund Campion’s *Rationes Decem*, printed in Radziwiłł the Orphan’s printing press in Vilnius in 1584.¹³ This is bound with two other books; one is Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki’s *Parallela Ecclesiae Catholicae*

11 See entry on ‘Nieśwież’ [in] *Encyklopedia wiedzy o Jezuitach* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2004), pp. 457–458. On the conversion of Mikołaj Krzysztof the Orphan Cf. Zaleski, Stanisław, *Jezuici w Polsce* (Lwów: Drukarnia Ludowa, 1900), Volume I, Part 1, pp. 195–197. On the founding of the Jesuit College in Nieśwież cf. Zaleski, Stanisław, *Jezuici w Polsce*, (Kraków: Drukarnia W.L. Anczyca, 1905), Volume IV, Part 1, pp. 425–435.

12 Maria Topolska, *Czytelnik i książka w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w dobie Renasansu i Baroku* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1984), pp. 195–196. “The Library of the Jesuits in Nieśwież benefited from the book donations of its founder, Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł. Surviving books which once belonged to this library had the mark ‘Pro Collegio Nesvisensi Societatis,’ up to 1603, and which later was substituted by the inscription ‘Inscriptus Catalogo Coll. sj’ which would suggest the existence of a catalogue.” (Translation mine, cc.).

13 Edmund Campion, *Rationes Decem* [*Rationes Decem*] (Wilno: Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, ca. 1584/1585). This edition was not known to Polish bibliographer Stanisław Estreicher in his *Bibliografia Polska* and this Vilnius edition has a characteristic typographical mistake in misspelling the ‘*Rationes*’ into ‘*Raitones*.’ This particular copy is found in the National Museum Czapski Library in Kraków under shelfmark no. MNK VIII-XVI-1088. Aside from this, I have also established two other copies, one is in the University of Uppsala and has the provenance marking of the Jesuit Braunsberg (Braniewo) College under shelfmark number Obr 67 137. Another one can be found in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków and bears the provenance of the Jesuit ‘Domus Professoris’ of Vilnius, under shelfmark Cim 1155.

cum Haereticorum Synagogis published in Cologne in 1576.¹⁴ The other, Andrzej Miedzybosz's *Ad brevem cuiusdam de Ecclesia et Ministris demonstrationem*, published in Kraków in 1607, bears the marks of the previous owners, Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł and the Jesuit College of Nieśwież.¹⁵ The title page of *Parallela* bears a dedicatory note to Radziwiłł the Orphan, and a later inscription, "*Inscriptus Catalogo Collegio Societatis Iesu Nie[svisensi]*" testifies to the fact that this copy was recorded in the catalogue of the Jesuit College of Nieśwież (Figure 6.3). The verso of the first folio contains a listing of the three books in the volume with the date '1624' written out, which suggests that the library was probably either catalogued or acquired that year, seven years after Radziwiłł's death in 1616.

The Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Press as Instrument for Polemical Book Culture

Aside from founding Jesuit schools, Radziwiłł also generously supported the printing projects of the Jesuits by founding the first Catholic Polish-Latin printing press in Vilnius. In 1571, he closed down the Calvinist printing house run by the Kawieczynski Family in Nieśwież and in 1576 transported the press from Brześć Litewski 500 km north to Vilnius. He also financed the printing of Jesuit works, contributing 1000 zlotys to the printing of Piotr Skarga's hagiographical work *Żywoty świętych* [Lives of the Saints] in 1579. The Polish Jesuit Piotr Skarga (1536–1612), in a letter dated 27 February 1576 and addressed to the Father General Everard Mercurian in Rome, spoke of Radziwiłł's patronage of the press, which "He himself generously financed and supported with his own sources," and said that for "his work against the heretics, we would want to thank and commemorate him."¹⁶

During the years when the press officially bore Radziwiłł's name, it produced apologetic, polemical, devotional and academic works commemorating

14 Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki, *Parallela Ecclesiae Catholicae cum Haereticorum Synagogis* (Coloniae: Apud Maternum Cholinum, 1576). This copy belongs to the National Museum Czapski Library in Kraków under shelfmark MNK VIII-XVI-1087.

15 Andrzej Miedzybosz (also known as Wojciech Rościszewski), *Ad brevem cuiusdam de Ecclesia et Ministris demonstrationem* (Kraków: 1607). This copy belongs to the National Museum Czapski Library in Kraków under shelfmark MNK VIII-XVI-1089.

16 Jan Sygański, *Listy Piotra Skargi* (Kraków: Nakładem Towarzystwa Jezusowego, 1912), pp. 80–82, Letter no. 43.

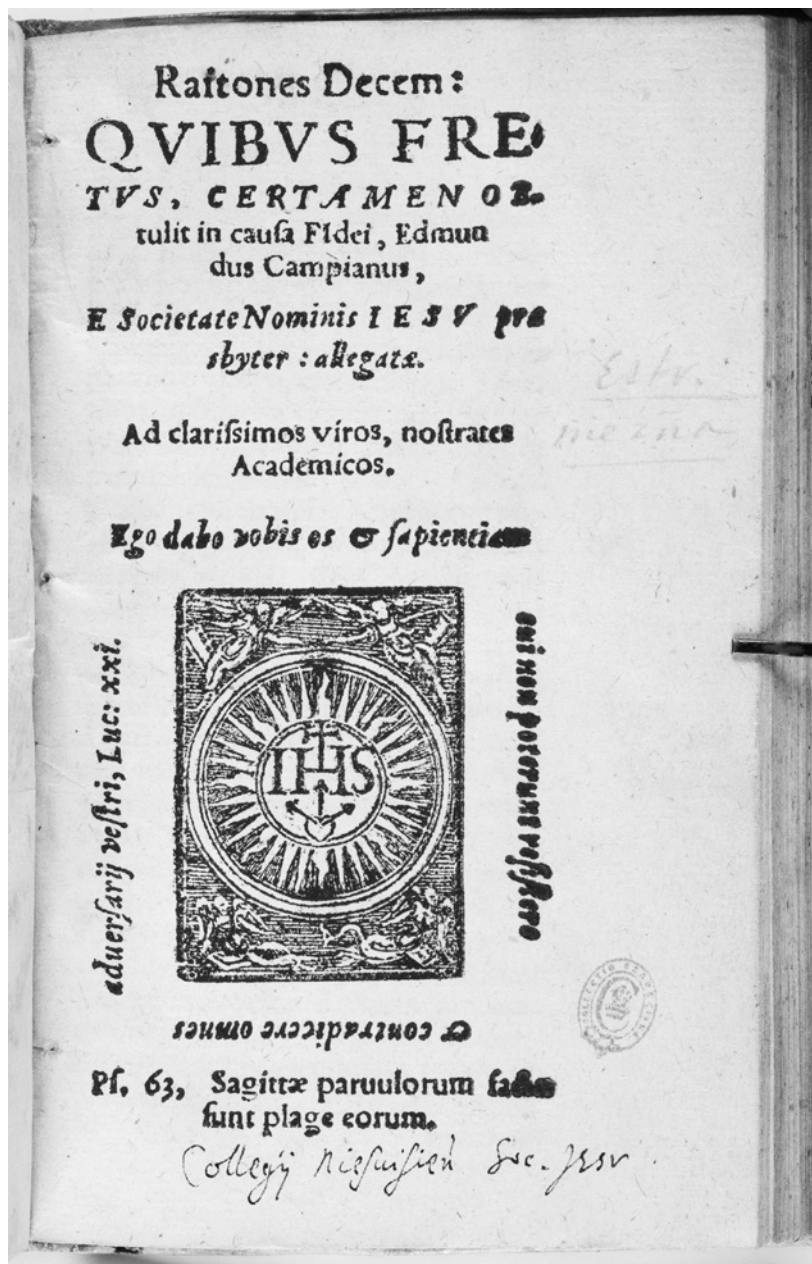


FIGURE 6.3 Title page of *Rationes decem*, Latin edition, printed in the Mikolaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Press in Vilnius in 1584.

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE PHOTOGRAPHY SERVICES OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF KRAKÓW FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF KRAKÓW INVOICE NO. MNK VIII-XVI-1088

important events in the College's history.¹⁷ In those first years, the printing press mainly served the purposes of the Jesuits, who printed polemical and apologetic works to propagate the Tridentine resolutions amongst the *szlachta* (Polish nobility), and thus served as an important stronghold of Counter-Reformation print culture in the north-eastern region of the Commonwealth.¹⁸ It was the means, as Mirosława Hanusiewicz-Lavallee has argued, to strengthen doctrinal orthodoxy amongst the Catholic laity in a country where heterodoxy prevailed.¹⁹ Moreover, since no real censorship was implemented by the Church hierarchy or State authorities, there was also an abundance of 'heretical' works easily available to the *szlachta* (the nobility) many of whom in fact left the Catholic faith to become either Calvinists or even Anti-Trinitarians.²⁰ After 1586, the ownership of the press was officially transferred to the Academy of Vilnius, under whose auspices it continued to publish polemical pamphlets as well as textbooks and panegyric works. But even then it still enjoyed the reputation of being the most important Catholic printing press in the Grand Duchy, as the English Jesuit, professor of moral theology, then Chancellor of the Academy and later its Rector, Adam Brock (1542–1605) wrote to the Father General, Claudius Aquavivus on 13 June 1596:

It is most desirable, Venerable Father, that for the universal good of the Catholic Church and of our students, that you should support the maintenance of the printing press of this College. For within a distance of 500 Italian miles you will not find a single Catholic press, whilst in this town there are two which are heretical, one is Calvinist, the other Anabaptist, from which many heretical books are printed every year. Catholics, on the other hand, have only this printing press and have nowhere else to print their books.²¹

Vilnius was becoming an important publishing town, accounting for three quarters of the books produced in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.²² Alodia

17 Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Drukarze dawnej Polski* (Wrocław-Kraków: Ossolineum, 1959) p. 210.

18 Gryczowa, *Drukarze*, pp. 205–210.

19 Cf. Mirosława Hanusiewicz-Lavallee, 'Recusant Prose in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century' in this volume.

20 Cf. Magdalena Komorowska, 'In the Eye of the Storm: Books in the Conflict between the Jesuits and the University of Kraków (1622–1634)' in this volume.

21 Irena Petrauskienė, *Vilniaus akademijos spaustuves saltiniai XVI–XIX a.* (Vilnius, 1992). p. 67. cited and translated from Niedźwiedź, *Kultura Literacka*, p. 200.

22 For more on the Vilnius as an important printing and cultural town, Cf. Niedźwiedź, *Kultura Literacka*, pp. 195–196.

Kawecka-Gryczowa provides a summary of book production in the years 1576–1586 when the press was in Radziwiłł the Orphan's ownership. She lists 58 published books, 51 in Latin and 7 in Polish. From the years 1576–1582 an average of 5 Latin books a year were published, whilst in 1581–1582, book production doubles to 7–8.²³ A significant drop occurs in 1583 with only one Latin book printed in 1583 and 1584. Only seven Polish books were published in the years 1576–1586, giving an average of barely one book per year. A obstacle to the functioning of the press was the lack of skilled printers. In fact, in its first years, Radziwiłł employed two of the most skilled printers in town, Jan Ślecki (dates unknown) and Daniel Łęczycki (1530–1600), who were Anti-Trinitarians and worked in the Anti-Trinitarian presses in Pinczów and Łosk.

Piotr Skarga's letter to the Father General on 7 March 1581 contains news of certain dramatic events which disrupted the press in this year.²⁴ As Skarga was preparing his reply to the Calvinist Andrzej Wolan (1530–1610), *Artes duodecim Sacramentarium*, he commissioned the printer, most probably Łęczycki, to cast a large number of Latin matrices. The printer was apparently persuaded by the Calvinist, Andrzej Wolan to take all the Latin matrices so they could be used to establish a new workshop using Radziwiłł's name, "*officinam ex nostra, seu Illmi D. Marsalci Radivili typographia, instituit.*" Daniel of Łęczycza was suspected and asked to present himself in court. He not only failed to do so, but found protection under Radziwiłł's uncle, Radziwiłł the Red. The Jesuits then decided to await the return of their patron, Radziwiłł the Orphan from his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, hoping for his intervention. In an unexpected turn of events, initiated most probably by one of Daniel's servants, Marcin of Kazimierz, Kazimierz stole the matrices, sought the protection of the Bishop of Vilnius, Jerzy Radziwiłł (1556–1600), the brother of Radziwiłł the Orphan, and resumed the functioning of the press.²⁵

The Lithuanian bibliographer, Irene Petrauskiene lists 132 books printed in Vilnius in the sixteenth century; of these 51 titles were printed in Radziwiłł

23 In the sixteenth century an estimated number of 8,000 books of roughly 150,000 – 200,000 copies were published in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, this accounts for 4–5% of the book market in Europe, ranking the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 7th position. Considering the population of the Commonwealth, at that time of 7,500,000 inhabitants giving an average of 20 printed books per 10,000 inhabitants, this meant a slightly higher ratio of books per inhabitant in the Commonwealth than in other European countries, where 18–19 items were estimated per 10,000 inhabitants in Europe. Cf. Barbara Bieńkowska, & Halina Chamerska, *Books in Poland* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990), p. 11.

24 Cf. Sygański, pp. 141–144, Letter no. 70 quoted in Gryczowa, *Drukarze*, pp. 207–208.

25 For more cf. Gryczowa, *Drukarze*, pp. 122–123. Also cf. Sygański, Jan (ed.), *Listy Piotra Skargi* (Kraków: Nakładem Towarzystwa Jezusowego, 1912), pp. 141–144, letter no. 70.

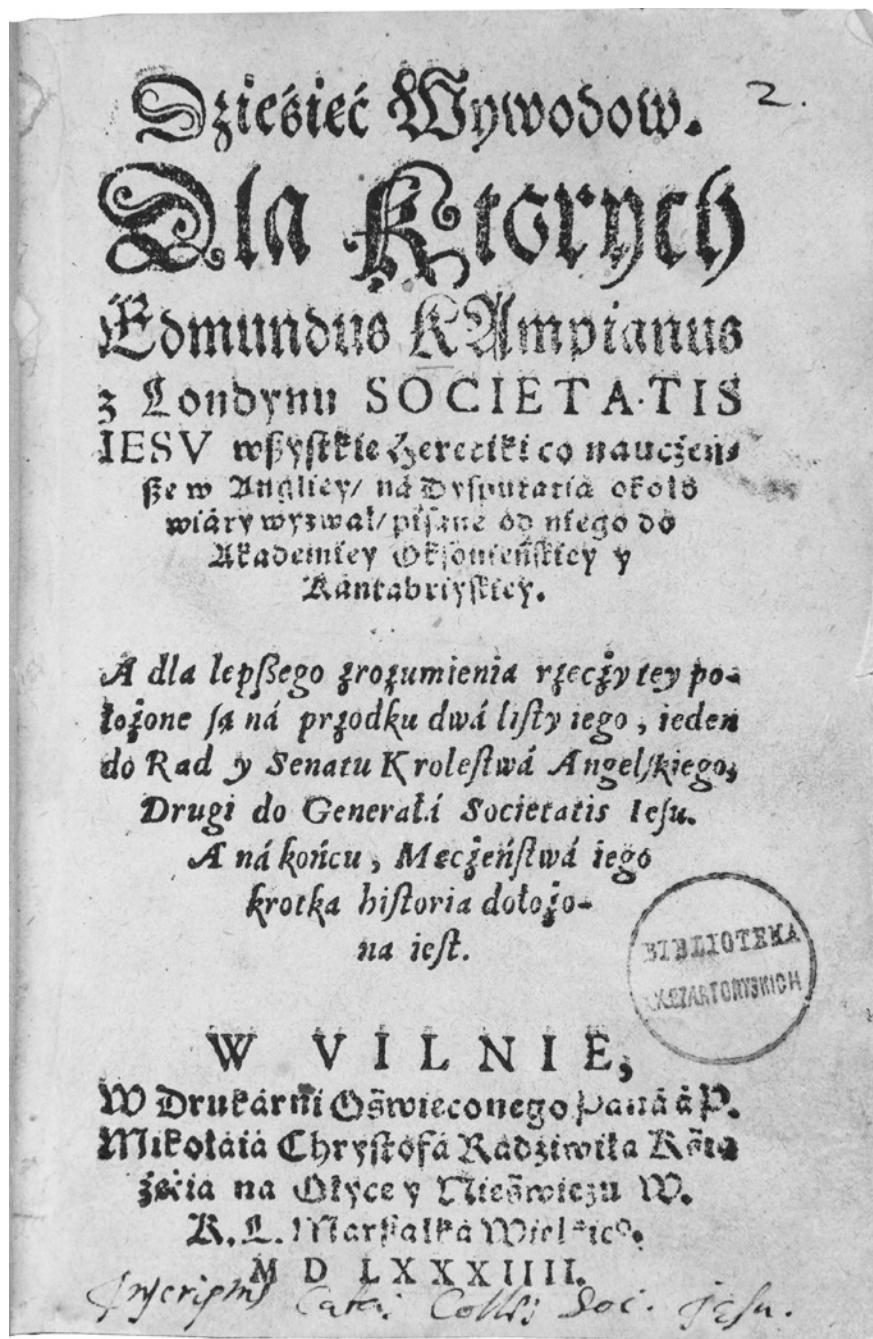


FIGURE 6.4 Title page of *Dziesięć wywodów* [Ten Disquisitions], the Polish translation of Edmund Campion's *Rationes decem* by Polish Jesuit Piotr Skarga. Printed in the Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Press in Vilnius in 1584.

COURTESY OF CZARTORYSKI LIBRARY IN KRAKÓW, SHELFMARK CIM 1174 I

the Orphan's press.²⁶ A close inspection of the bibliography gives an insight into the kinds of books printed, shedding light on the printing policy of the press. Proportionally speaking, the largest part of the listed titles are academic dissertations defended by students and professors of the Academy of Vilnius. These account for nineteen works, that is 14 % of total output. The titles inform us about the academic disciplines – logic, philosophy, rhetoric and philosophy – and about the exact dates of the defence. Examples include the *Assertiones philosophicae ex octo phisicorum libris, defendendae in collegio S.I. Vilniensi, sub autumnalem studiorum renovationem*, printed 1579 and the *Assertiones philosophicae menstruae iex quarto et quinto libro physicorum Aristoteles de vacuo, tempore et speciebus motus discutendae in collegio Vilniensi S.I. Iun A.D. 1577. Defendat Ioannes Wartenbergensis* both printed in quarto. The second largest category of books is polemical works written by Jesuit authors, up to twelve books. The authors included well-known Polish and foreign Jesuits, such as the famous preacher and Rector of the Academy of Vilnius, Piotr Skarga, Krzysztof Warszawicki, writer and diplomat, (1543–1603) and the English Jesuit, Edmund Campion (1540–1581). Skarga's first books were printed in this press, including *Pro Sacratissima Eucharistia* printed in 1576, which put into print the well-known public debate that Skarga had with the Calvinist Andrzej Wolan in Vilnius, and the earlier mentioned *Artes duodecim sacramentariorum* printed in 1582. An interesting case is that of the three editions of Edmund Campion's *Rationes Decem* printed in the same year 1584, a Latin edition and two separate Polish translations, one by Piotr Skarga, *Dziesięć wywodów*, [The Ten Disquisitions] (Figure 6.4).

The second translation was by a Catholic convert from Anti-Trinitarianism – Kasper or Gaspar Wilkowski (d. late sixteenth century), *Dziesięć mocnych dowodów* [The Ten Strong Reasons] (Figure 6.5).²⁷ Both Polish translations are printed very elaborately on fine paper using blackletter and roman types. Both texts also include a biography of Edmund Campion and translations of two letters by Campion, one to the Privy Council, the other to the Father General Everard Mercurian. The Latin edition, identified by contemporary bibliographers Marian Malicki and Ewa Zwinogrodzka as printed in the Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Press, is a much more modest piece of work, in Roman type on a poorer quality of paper with no additional paratexts.²⁸ The title pages bears

26 K. Cepiene and I. Petrauskienė. *Vilniaus Akademijos Spaustuves Leidiniai 1576–1805* (Vilnius: Moskiu Akademijos Centrum Biblioteka, 1979), pp. 12–29.

27 Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska* (Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1896), Volume XIV, pp. 33–34.

28 Marian Malicki & Ewa Zwinogrodzka. *Katalog Poloników w XVI wieku Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*. (Kraków: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1995). Volume III. pp. 110–111.

a striking similarity to the first edition printed in Stonor Park, with the Jesuit monogram surrounded with the words from Luke, "I will give you speech and wisdom that all your opponents will not be able to resist or contradict" printed in Latin.²⁹ It also bears a typographical mistake in the spelling of the title of the work as '*Raitones decem*,' which may indicate the lack of skill of the type-setters.³⁰ It is tempting to ask why the printers should decide to imitate the first edition, especially as they already had two Polish editions. This may have been because the printers were making a conscious allusion comparing their own printing troubles, with the affair with Daniel Łężycki's theft of the Latin matrices of the press, still fresh in their memories, to the dangerous circumstances in which the Stonor edition was first published.

There were also a number of panegyric works commemorating the visits of important personages to the Academy of Vilnius, including patrons of the college, such as Jerzy Radziwiłł, Bishop of Vilnius and the King Stephan Bathory.³¹ More popular devotional works were also published in the press, such as Ignatius of Loyola's *Exercitia spirituale* in 1583 and a very early *Litaniae domini nostril Jesu Christi, beatae virginis Mariae* printed in 1582, before the Marian Litany received papal approval in 1587.

Books on controversy dealing with points of contention between Protestants and Catholics, naturally abound in the list of works printed in the press. Examples include works by the Greek scholar, Gennadarius Georgius Scholarius on the primacy of the Pope, *De primate papae* printed in 1581 in Polish and Latin; and Piotr Skarga's works on the Holy Eucharist, *Pro sacratissima eucharistia haeresim Zvinglianam* (1577) and the *Artes duodecim sacramentarium* printed in 1582, an offshoot of his debates with the Calvinist Andrzej Wolan. But undoubtedly the most successful book printed in Radziwiłł's press was

See also, Marian Malicki. *Catalogus Librorum Saeculi XVI qui in Bibliotheca Iagellonica Cracoviensis Asservantur* (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 2002), Volume II, p. 161.

29 I am grateful to Dr Gerard Kilroy for drawing my attention to this. See Gerard Kilroy, *A Cosmopolitan Book: Edmund Campion's 'Rationes Decem'*, in this volume for the context of these editions.

30 The *Index Aureliensis* notes this particular mistake as a distinctive feature of the Vilnius 1585 edition. Cf. *Index Aureliensis: catalogus librorum sedecimo*. Geneva: Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana, 1962. Pars I, Volume 6, pp. 323–324, 373–374. I am grateful to Gerard Kilroy for calling my attention to this.

31 *Gratulationes...Georgio Radzivilo, episcopo Vilnen[sis]. In primo felici atque exoptato eiusdem in suam sedem adventu oblatae, A bonarum artium studiosa iuventute in Acad. Vilnensi collegij S.I., conscriptae, 1581 mense Augusto and the Gratulationes serenissimo ac potentissimo principi Stephano I decretae, et in fortunatiss[mi] S.R.M. suae Vilnam adve[n]tum scriptae A.D. 1579 a studiosis collegij Vilnensis S.I.*

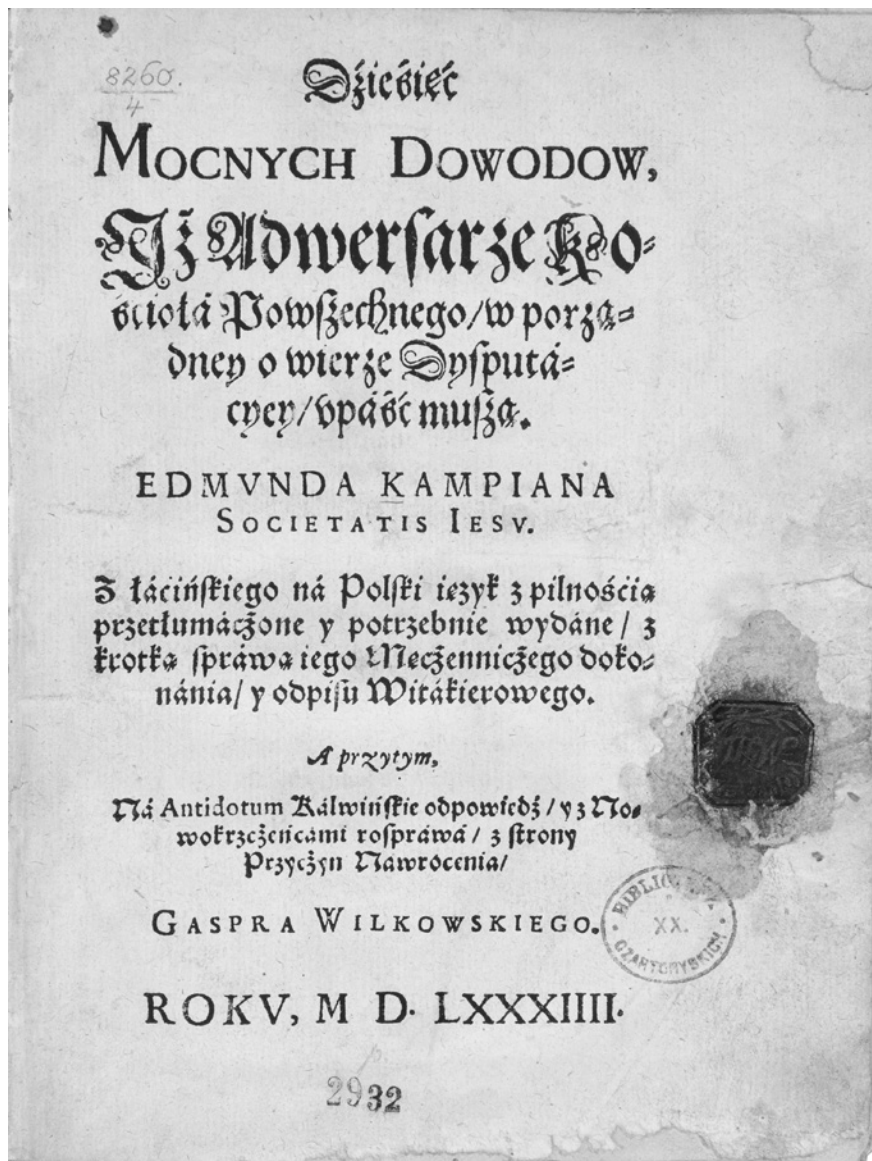


FIGURE 6.5 Title page of *Dziesięć mocnych dowodów* [Ten Strong Reasons], another Polish translation of Edmund Campion's *Rationes Decem* by Kasper or Gaspar Wilkowski. Printed in the Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Press in Vilnius in 1584.

COPY COURTESY OF CZARTORYSKI LIBRARY IN KRAKÓW, SHELFMARK CIM 920 II

Piotr Skarga's *Żywoty świętych* [Lives of the Saints], known to scholars as 'the Old Polish bestseller.' This enormous hagiography, with saints for every single day of the year was printed in the press for the first time in 1579, and in Skarga's lifetime went on to eight editions published in printing presses all over the Commonwealth. This greatly enriched Polish adaptation of a work by the German hagiographer Laurentius Surius's (1523–1578), *De probatis Sanctorum historiis*, was seen by the Jesuits and by Skarga himself as an important catechetical project meant to counter the growing heterodoxy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It had a profound influence on Polish popular culture in the coming centuries.³² So popular was this work that six years later, as Skarga writes in the dedication to Anna Komarnicka of Lipnik to the second edition, "shortly after the first edition was published, men from all parts of the Realm wrote, asking when would I publish the second edition."³³

Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł the Orphan contributed significantly to the spreading of Counter-Reformation movement through his patronage of Jesuit learning and his generous support of important Jesuit colleges. As a bibliophile and a man of learning, he also perfectly understood the need to promote book culture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Moved by the propagation of the Tridentine resolutions, great value was likewise placed on the Jesuit devotion to debate and controversy which left its mark in the founding of the Jesuit College in Nieśwież, contributing significantly to the Catholic renewal of a town which had been the stronghold of Protestantism. By establishing the first Catholic press in Vilnius, and transplanting the Calvinist press from Brześć Litewski, Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł clearly demonstrated the keen interest he had in providing an alternative to the Protestant printing industry.

32 For more on this 'Old Polish Bestseller,' see Andrzej Borowski, *Staropolska 'książka dla wszystkich,' czyli Żywoty świętych ks. Piotra Skargi* [in] Michał Hanczakowski & Jakub Nieźwiedź, *Retoryka a tekst literacki* (Kraków: Universitas, 2003).

33 Skarga's 'Lives of the Saints' would be the single most popular work in the Polish language, for at least three centuries and would be a book owned by every noble family. For more on the tremendous impact of this work on Polish culture, see Anna Kapuśnicka, *Żywoty świętych Piotra Skargi* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2008). The quotation is taken from Kapuśnicka, *Żywoty*, pp. 11–12. I am grateful to Dr Magda Komorowska for calling my attention to this. For more on Piotr Skarga's printing ventures and writings see Magdalena Komorowska, *Prologomena do edycji dzieł Piotra Skargi* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2011).

PART 2

*Subversive Publishing during the
Elizabethan Settlement*



“Guiding Souls to Goodness and Devotion”: Clandestine Publications and the English Jesuit Mission

Thomas M. McCoog, SJ

Many historians and literary critics have studied the foundation and early history of the fabled Jesuit mission to England. Detailed instructions and concrete faculties reveal the Society of Jesus's understanding of the mission. But most scholars forget that the Jesuit mission was not the English mission, but only a segment of a much larger enterprise conceived and conducted by William Allen (1532–1594). Gerard Kilroy remarks that “the English mission of 1580 was not planned by the Jesuits, but by William Allen.”¹ No explication of Allen's plan of procedure is extant so we do not know his methods and goals. We can infer his strategies from the immediate, enthusiastic, and apparently prepared introduction of specific practices. An obvious illustration is the role of disputation not mentioned in either the Jesuit instructions or faculties. In fact the Superior General Everard Mercurian (1514–1580) cautioned missionaries against debates with heretics who, even “when they are clearly beaten in argument,” are “unwilling to give in to anybody.”² Nonetheless, Allen, and apparently Robert Persons (1546–1610), agitated for the inclusion of a reluctant Edmund Campion (1540–1581) in the band of missionaries bound for London.³ Allen and Persons apparently had something in mind that was not communicated to the Jesuit superior general. With or without ‘full disclosure’ to Mercurian, Allen

- 1 Gerard Kilroy, “Paths Coincident”: The Parallel Lives of Dr. Nicholas Sander and Edmund Campion, SJ, *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 1 (2014), pp. 520–541 at 540. Kilroy discusses this in greater detail in *Edmund Campion. A Scholarly Life* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).
- 2 *Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, SJ*, (ed.) Leo Hicks, SJ (London: Catholic Record Society, 1942), p. 320. We await the publication of a new, critical edition of this correspondence, prepared by an editorial team chaired by Victor Houlston. The first volume should appear in 2016. Meanwhile see Victor Houlston, ‘Robert Persons's Precarious Correspondence,’ *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 1 (2014), pp. 542–557.
- 3 See Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, “Playing the Champion”: The Role of Disputation in the Jesuit Mission,’ in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the English Jesuits*, (ed.) Thomas M. McCoog, SJ (2nd edn., Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007), pp. 139–163; Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, “And Touching Our Society” *Fashioning Jesuit Identity in Elizabethan England* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2013), pp. 89–101. Kilroy's new biography will add much to these issues.

chartered the mission's path. In this article I propose, as Ronald Corthell suggests, that writing and publishing played key roles in Allen's strategy even if he might not have cleared it with Mercurian.⁴ Jesuit involvement with either might have surprised, if not shocked, superiors in Rome because of the Society's lack of interest if not outright aversion, and because of Elizabethan restrictions and controls.

The Society of Jesus: The Ministry of Writing

Between 1540 and 1581, as Joseph de Guibert, SJ, comments, "literary production [within the Society] was indeed small, both in the number of publications and the extent of their circulation. What stood out clearly among them consisted of prayer books and small directories."⁵ Jerónimo Nadal (1507–1580), an early Jesuit generally considered an authoritative interpreter of the mind of Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), claimed that books could be written for two reasons: to refute heretics and to aid spiritual growth.⁶ Yet other contemporary Jesuits dismissed writing and publishing as alien to their style of life. News of the publication of an oration given at Trent angered Alfonso Salmerón (1515–1585):

We are called to a way of life characterized chiefly by simplicity, modesty, and unrestricted charity to our neighbour. True, the publication of books is not in itself incompatible with these qualities; it nonetheless can be an obstacle to more excellent works of charity and at times a distraction from them.⁷

In the early 1570s, German provincial Paul Hoffaeus (1530–1608) complained that "the whole world is full of books" and that many Jesuits "evade more necessary labours through a pretext and itch of writing."⁸

4 "Writing and publishing were established as central activities of the Mission before its pastoral work began in earnest" ('Robert Persons and the Writer's Mission,' in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, [ed.] Arthur F. Marotti [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999], pp. 35–62, at p. 38).

5 *The Jesuits. Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice* (Chicago: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1964), p. 210.

6 John W. O'Malley, SJ, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 114–115. Indeed, the Roman Catholic Church in general has traditionally been accused of a "neurotic distrust of the book as a 'silent heretic'" and "carrier of depravity" (Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014], p. 238).

7 Cited in O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, p. 114.

8 Cited in James Brodrick, SJ, *Saint Peter Canisius, SJ 1521–1597* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1935), p. 732.

Jesuit reluctance gave way to active endorsement or, to borrow and adapt Alexandra Walsham's phraseology, Jesuits no longer treated writing simply "as a valuable auxiliary but also as a creative opportunity."⁹ In 1554 Loyola exhorted Peter Canisius (1521–1597) to take up his pen for other works, specifically treatises to refute Protestants, and catechisms to instruct Catholics. He produced *Lectiones et precationes ecclesiasticae* (Ingolstadt, 1556), which evolved into *Instructiones et exercitamenta christianae pietatis* (1566), and *Catechismus parvus* (1559). Gaspar de Loarte's *Esercizio della vita christiana* (Genoa, 1557), a popular guide for Catholic devotion, was the first work of spirituality written by a Jesuit.¹⁰ Subsequent works by Gaspar Loarte (ca. 1498–1578) include *Instruttione et auertimenti per meditare la passione di Christo nostro redentore* (Rome, 1571) and *Instruttione et auertimenti, per meditar i misterij del rosario* (Rome, 1573).¹¹ Jesuits implemented Nadal's recommendation that books be written to combat Protestant errors and "to guide souls to goodness and devotion."¹²

Elizabethan England

The government prepared for the anticipated religious settlement of 1559 with disputations at Westminster cleverly staged and carefully managed to discredit opponents. The subsequent 'victory' of the Protestant party silenced Catholic critics, laid the religious foundation for future legislation, and allowed the government to prohibit subsequent debate by arguing against its utility.¹³ Time was on the side of Queen Elizabeth (1533–1603): without sacramental and spiritual nourishment, Catholicism – real, conventional or nostalgic – would pass away, slowly, inevitably, and, one hoped, painlessly as long as the government ensured there was no life support system.¹⁴ Through regulations, proclamations, and patents, the government attempted to exercise control over print culture. Authorities demanded pre-licensing censorship by means of commissions and the universities, and the Stationers' Company's monopoly. After excommunication

9 *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*, p. 264.

10 Jean-François Gilmont, SJ, *Les écrits spirituels des premiers Jésuites* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1961), p. 261.

11 See de Guibert, *The Jesuits*, pp. 200–201, 212.

12 Cited in O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, p. 115.

13 See Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, *The Society of Jesus in Scotland, Ireland, and England, 1541–1588: "Our Way of Proceeding?"* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 43–44; *Monumenta Angliae*, (ed.) Thomas M. McCoog, SJ (and with the third volume, László Lukács, SJ) (3 vols., Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1992–2000), III, 313–319.

14 See John J. LaRocca, SJ, 'Time, Death and the Next Generation: The Early Elizabethan Recusancy Policy,' *Albion*, 14 (1982), pp. 103–117.

of Elizabeth in 1570 by Pope Pius V (1504–1572), any suggestion that she was a heretic, a usurper, or not the Supreme Head of the Church could be considered treasonous. Commissions scrutinised pre-publication texts, and monitored the importation of books. In 1586 the privileges of printing were restricted to London, where the Stationers' Company required pre-publication registration and controlled the number of printers, and to the two universities. Proper authorities would approve manuscripts for publication. Nonetheless some books were published without authorisation and registration, and some books were imported despite regulations.¹⁵

The famous challenge sermon on 26 November 1559 delivered by Bishop John Jewel (1522–1571) taunted dispirited Roman Catholics. Even if Roman Catholic theologians wanted to pick up the gauntlet, royal injunctions of 1559 had forbidden religious disputation.¹⁶ English Catholic theologians in Antwerp and Louvain transformed the challenge to a battle of the books.¹⁷ The effectiveness of the Catholic controversialists may be judged from a royal proclamation of 1 March 1569 prohibiting importation of any books “containing sundry matters repugnant to truth, derogatory to the sovereign estate of her majesty, and stirring and nourishing sedition in this realm” that were intended “to draw them [the queen’s subjects] to error and to withdraw them seditiously from their duties and allegiance due to her majesty as their only sovereign.” Loyal subjects should neither own nor read such works by “enemies to God’s truth and the quiet government of the Queen, in maintenance of the usurped jurisdiction of the Papistical See of Rome.”¹⁸ Throughout the 1560s Catholic

15 For more detailed exposition see Cynthia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Richard A. McCabe, “Right Puissance and Terrible Priests”: The Role of the Anglican Church in Elizabethan State Censorship,’ in *Literature and Censorship in Renaissance England*, (ed.) Andrew Hadfield (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 75–94; Arnold Hunt, ‘Licensing and Religious Censorship in Early Modern England,’ in Hadfield, *Literature and Censorship*, pp. 127–146; Kenneth Fincham, ‘The Roles and Influence of Household Chaplains, ca.1600–ca.1660,’ in *Chaplains in Early Modern England. Patronage, Literature and Religion*, (eds.) Hugh Adlington, Tom Lockwood and Gillian Wright (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 11–35; Mary Morrissey, ‘Episcopal Chaplains and Control of the Media, 1586–1642,’ in Adlington, *Chaplains in Early Modern England*, pp. 64–82.

16 Henry Gee, *The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), pp. 60–61.

17 Peter Milward, SJ, provides a concise overview of these publications in *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age. A Survey of Printed Sources* (London: Scholar Press, 1977), pp. 1–24.

18 *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, (eds.) Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, CSV (3 vols., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964–1969), II, 312–313.

publications, many in reply to Jewel, were smuggled into the kingdom. From a high of nine Catholic books *per annum* in 1566 and 1567, the number dwindled in the early 1570s: one volume appeared in 1570 and 1571, two in 1572, three in 1573, and two in 1574.¹⁹ Was the decline in publications a simple consequence of waning interest in the debate as the principal participants aged or moved on to other interests? Was it a consequence of the dangers involved with the importation and distribution of books becoming more identified with treason than with orthodoxy? Or did the foundation of the English College in Douai in 1568 redirect energies and talents from apologetic treatises to sacerdotal formation? Regardless, the year 1575 marked the appearance of the first domestic clandestine Catholic press.

Clandestine Catholic Presses Prior to the Jesuit Mission

William Carter (1549–1584) had served as an apprentice to John Cawood (1514–1572), Queen Elizabeth's printer, from 1563 to 1573. Ian Gadd claims that George Gilbert (1559–1583) and Stephen Brinkley (ca. 1550 – ca. 1585) recruited Carter and John Lyon (active 1568–1581), another former Cawood apprentice, to set up a secret Catholic press in 1575.²⁰ Over the next two years, Carter and Lyon published seven Catholic books. After Lyon's emigration to the continent, Carter printed a further seven titles in 1578 and 1579.²¹ In September 1578 Carter was imprisoned for a month in the Poultry in London most likely for printing 'lewd pamphlettes.' He returned to prison in December 1579 for possession and distribution of a defence of Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–1587), and her rights as Elizabeth's successor, specifically *L'innocence de ... Marie, Roynie d'Escosse* (n.p. [Rheims], 1572) by Bishop John Leslie (1527–1596).²² Carter remained in the

19 Antony F. Allison and David M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640* (2 vols., Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1989–1994), II, 227 [=ARCR].

20 'Carter, William (b. in or before 1549, d. 1584),' I. Gadd in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (eds.) H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., Lawrence Goldman (ed.), January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4802> (accessed January 26, 2015).

21 On the possible involvement of Alice Fowler in the production of Carter's publications, I consulted Chris Warner, 'Alice Fowler and the Subversive English Book Trade,' (paper presented at the conference "Underground and Across the Channel: Subversive Publishing in Early Modern England and Poland," Muzeum Erazma Ciołka, Tischner European University, Kraków, 24 – 26 September 2014).

22 ARCR, I, num. 726.

Gatehouse until June 1581. Another raid of Carter's house in July 1582 discovered more Catholic books. Sent to the Tower of London where he was tortured to obtain information about Jesuits, seminary priests and Catholics in general, Carter was transferred to Newgate in 1584 and on 10 January he was tried at the Old Bailey. He was found guilty of high treason and executed at Tyburn on 11 January 1584.²³

Carter and Lyon's first publication, a translation of Jean Albin de Valsergues's *Discours chrestien et advertissemens salutaires...pour cognoistre les bons et fideles evangelisateurs des faux prophetes* (Paris, 1566) continued the Catholic rebuttal of Jewel. The anonymous English author of the preface emphasised that rulers, both spiritual and temporal, must attend to the needs of their subjects. Truly they must be good shepherds who guard their flock by preventing consumption of unwholesome and dangerous food, and protecting them against ravenous wolves. If England's leaders wished to fulfil their duties and responsibilities, they should listen for their shepherd's "voyce in the Church" where "they will not heare the voyce of straungers, as of Luther, Oecolampadus, Swinglius, Calvine, & like heretikes."²⁴ Protestantism was foreign; it spoke with the voices of strangers. Catholicism, the author deftly explained, was the natural religion of the English. In these perilous times in England as the Antichrist has gained the upper hand, Catholics were denounced as Pharisees, Papists, and false prophets. Protestants, the author explained, "have damnably deceived you & have with their damnable preachinge intised you from Church to Church, from an heavenly Church, to a malignant Church: from a loving mother, to a flattering harlot: from the condition of grace, to the state of perdition: from truth to falshood, from faythfull beleiving to carnall reasoning, from saving Christe to deceaving Antichriste."²⁵ The same editor added an appendix, a version of William Allen's "Scroll of Articles," specifically twenty-two reasons for accepting the authenticity of the Catholic Church, and six signs demonstrating that Protestants were the Antichrist. These articles, found in different versions and under other names, for instance *Motives* by Richard Bristow (1538–1581), served as a 'vademecum' for seminary priests as they returned home for "the purpose of strengthening the Catholics in their faith and of winning back the Protestants."²⁶ The editor concluded his appendix with a

23 For Carter's life, see Gadd, 'Carter, William.'

24 Jean Albin de Valsergues, *A notable discourse, plainelye and truely discussing, who are the right ministers of the Catholike Church* (Douai [vere London], 1575, ARCR, II, num, 877), [sig. ¶.viii.^r].

25 Albin de Valsergues, *A notable discourse*, [sig. ¶¶.vii.^{r-v}].

26 Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age*, p. 39.

statement of purpose: he had employed historical examples “to confyrme the faythfull, to stay the wavering, and to plucke the deceaved back agayne, ...and to gather themselves with our Saviour Christ into the unitie of his common known catholike church.”²⁷

Subsequent publications included devotional works by the Tudor Brigittine Richard Whitford (d. 1542), the German Dominican Henry Suso (d. 1366), the Elizabethan Carthusian tentatively identified as John Mitchell (fl. 1570s), and the martyred John Fisher (1469–1535). But of the fourteen books published by the two printers, Jesuits – the Dutch Peter Canisius and the Italian Gaspare Loarte – were the authors of eight. Canisius's *Certayne devout meditations very necessary for Christian men* (Douai [= London], 1576), was a translation of *Instructiones et exercitamenta christiana pietatis* (1566); and *Certayne necessarie principles of religion* (Douai [= London], n.d. [1578–79]), a translation of *Catechismus parvus*.²⁸ Gaspare Loarte's *Instruttione et auertimenti per meditare la passione di Christo nostro redentore* (Rome, 1571) was translated as *The godlie garden of Gethsemani* (n.p., n.d. [London, ca. 1576]). Stephen Brinkley's translation of Loarte's *Esercizio della vita christiana* (Genoa, 1557), *The exercise of a Christian Life* (n.p., n.d. [London, 1579]; John Fenn's translation of *Instruttione et auertimenti, per meditar i misterij del rosario* (Rome, 1573), as *Instructions and advertisements how to meditate the misteries of the rosarie of the most holy virgin Mary* (n.p., n.d. [London, 1579?], along with another edition of *The godlie garden of Gethsemani* (n.p., n.d. [London, ca. 1579]), appeared later.²⁹ Carter moved from spiritual, devotional manuals to a controversial contemporary issue, specifically occasional conformity and Catholic attendance at Protestant services, with the publication of Gregory Martin (ca. 1542–1582), *A treatise of schisme* (Douai [vere London], 1578).³⁰ Carter was judged to have incited

27 Albin de Valsergues, *A notable discourse*, [sig. C vii.^v].

28 *Certayne devout meditations very necessary for Christian men*, ARCR, II, num. 888; *Certayne necessarie principles of religion*, ARCR, II, num. 462. Alexandra Walsham correctly notes that the proliferation of works such as the catechisms of Canisius and Laurence Vaux illustrate “the onward march of religious confessionalization” (*Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*, p. 259).

29 *The exercise of a Christian Life*, ARCR, II, num. 896; *The exercise of a Christian Life*, ARCR, II, num. 64; *Instructions and advertisements how to meditate the misteries of the rosarie of the most holy virgin Mary*, ARCR, II, num. 269; *The godlie garden of Gethsemani*, ARCR, II, num. 897.

30 ARCR, II, num. 524. On occasional conformity see Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 1993).

women to assassinate Elizabeth because of his inclusion of the Old Testament account of Judith and Holofernes.³¹

The publication of so many works by Jesuits – an order whose fame (or infamy) had surely crossed the channel – is curious. But Jesuits themselves had not yet ministered in England. Who recommended their publication? Why would printers take such a gamble by using an illegal press to publish such works? Would there be a market for Jesuit devotional literature? As mentioned earlier, Gadd proposes George Gilbert as an intermediary between Jesuits and the Carter/Lyon press. This suggestion, however, does not square with the chronology. There is no evidence of Gilbert's Catholic sentiments in 1575. At some unknown date in the late 1570s, Gilbert crossed to the continent. In Paris, he met the Jesuit Thomas Darbyshire (1518–1604), nephew and former chancellor of the late Edward Bonner (1500–1569), Bishop of London, with whom he discussed religious and spiritual matters. Later, after religious instruction from Robert Persons in Rome, Gilbert was reconciled to the Roman Church in 1579. Persons redirected Gilbert's fervour: instead of embarking on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the Jesuit recommended that Gilbert return to England to assist priests, and to promote Catholicism in general. His involvement with a Catholic press would surely be after his return and not prior to his departure. Gilbert gathered an association of gentlemen – a number of whom will appear later – as escorts for Campion and Persons, and presumably other clergy, through a network of recusant households in the early 1580s.³²

The Jesuit Mission

In the hope of taking advantage of opportunities presented by Elizabeth's impending marriage to François, Duke of Anjou (1555–1584), and in reply to requests from 'principal' Catholics for Jesuits, Father General Everard Mercurian finally approved a mission to England in early 1580.³³ His instructions to

31 Martin, *Treatise of schisme*, sig. D.ii.^{r-v}.

32 See Henry Foley, SJ, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (7 vols. in 8 parts, Roehampton/London: Manresa/Burns and Oates, 1875–1883), III, 658–704. Is this association an illustration of the 'grassroots' Catholic revival discussed by Judith Pollmann ('Being a Catholic in Early Modern Europe,' in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, [eds.] Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven [Farnham: Ashgate, 2013], pp. 165–182, at 166).

33 See McCoog, "And Touching Our Society," pp. 55–88. Professor John Bossy challenged my interpretation in 'Lord Henry Howard and Loyalist Catholicism,' a paper given at the

Campion and Persons said nothing about writing or publishing.³⁴ Pope Gregory XIII (1502–1585), however, dispensed them from a Tridentine requirement that author, place and publisher be provided for all Catholic publications.³⁵ According to Leo Hicks, the papal faculties “show that such a possibility [publishing] had been contemplated since the inception of the mission.”³⁶ Nancy Pollard Brown concurs.³⁷ Papal faculties and Jesuit instructions should not be confused. The former granted permissions and dispensations; the latter outlined the Jesuit mission’s goals, purpose and strategy. Mercurian most likely did not envision Jesuit involvement with clandestine publications even if he knew about the existence of secret presses. Silence regarding writing and publication is not surprising given the Society had not yet fully endorsed that ministry. Yet someone, perhaps aware of the secret Catholic presses and eager to endorse this ministry sought dispensations from the Tridentine prohibitions. Who? Not Campion surely. He was a reluctant missionary. Persons? Allen? Lack of documentation precludes a definite answer, but the most likely candidate is Allen, whose vision shaped the Jesuit mission. Allen had participated in the great debate with Jewel, appreciated the value of devotional texts, and knew the risks that these publications entailed if real names were used. On the other hand Persons had no previous involvement with printing, or indeed writing.

Clandestine Catholic presses, it must be emphasised, predated the 1580 mission. Not even Carter’s arrest in December 1579 disrupted their production: Stephen Brinkley erected a press at Green Street House, East Ham sometime in 1579, most likely after Carter’s apprehension. However in his unfinished *De vita Campiani*, Robert Persons claimed that Campion, with support from some secular clergy, proposed to Persons that they set up a press. Thus William Brooksby (1559–1585), a member of Gilbert’s association, obtained a suitable house near Green Street, East Ham. Stephen Brinkley, another member of Gilbert’s association, supervised the printing; Gilbert himself underwrote

“What is Early Modern English Catholicism?” conference, Ushaw College, Durham University, 28 June–1 July 2013. It will be included in his work on Howard.

34 Hicks, *Letters and Memorials*, pp. 316–321.

35 The faculties can be found in Arnold Oskar Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1916), pp. 486–488. The Tridentine decrees can be found in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, (ed.) Norman P. Tanner, SJ (2 vols., Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), II, 664–665.

36 *Letters and Memorials*, p. xxxi.

37 ‘Robert Southwell: The Mission of the Written Word,’ in McCoog, *The Reckoned Expense*, pp. 251–275, at 252.

the expenses.³⁸ The press was so small and inadequate that production was slow and cumbersome.³⁹

Persons drafted Campion's life approximately 15 years after the events described. In his narrative he and Campion were responsible for the establishment and location of Brinkley's press.⁴⁰ Was this simply a slip of memory? Or was he consciously rewriting the mission's history to extol the role of the Society by ascribing to it the work of others? We know that the press had already published one book before the Jesuits' arrival. Perhaps, if we wish to harmonise this with Persons's account, Brinkley had dismantled his press after the publication of one book possibly because of risks involved. The trial and punishment of John Stubbs (1544–1591) in November 1579 and Carter's arrest a month later demonstrated possible consequences of clandestine printing. Campion and Persons might have persuaded him to unpack the press.

Without neglecting devotional literature, Brinkley did not fear more controversial treatises. Thomas Hide (1524–1597) in *A consolatorie epistle to the afflicted catholikes* (Louvain [= London], 1579), commiserated with Catholics and intimated an end to their sufferings possibly as a result of the negotiations surrounding the French match. Until then he consoled his troubled English friends by reminding them of the sufferings of Job, and of God's singular love for those whom he tested and found worthy: "Christians are nowe put together, as it were in a potte over the fire to be tried, as goulde is tried from other metalles. The fire flameth, the potte seetheth, the waters be thicke, the scombe is cast away."⁴¹ God would eventually lift his rod and spare his people.⁴² Brinkley reprinted the treatise the following year.⁴³ More controversial still was Richard Bristow's *A reply to Fulke, in defense of M.D. Allens scroll of articles, and booke of purgatorie* (Louvain [= London], 1580).⁴⁴ Canisius's *Certayne necessarie principles of religion* was included in the devotional I.R., [*A manual or meditation*] (Doway [= London], n.d. [1580–1581]), and in another edition *A manual or meditation, and most necessary prayers* (n.p., n.d. [= London, 1580–81]).⁴⁵

38 London: Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu [=ABSI], Collectanea P 152–153, Chap. 17. This is summarised in Hicks, *Letters and Memorials*, pp. xxxi–xxxii.

39 Brown, 'Robert Southwell,' p. 253.

40 A.C. Southern also credits Persons for the foundation of the Green Street press (*Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559–1582* [London: Sands & Co., 1950], p. 353).

41 Hide, *Consolatorie epistle*, [sig J.i.^r], ARCR, II, num. 430.

42 Hide, *Consolatorie epistle*, [sig J.ii.^r].

43 (Louvain [vere London]: 1580), ARCR, II, num. 431.

44 ARCR, II, num. 72.

45 [*A manual or meditation*], ARCR, II, num. 664.3; *A manual or meditation, and most necessary prayers*, ARCR, II, num. 664.5.

Within six months of his arrival Persons was working with the press. His promised defence of recusancy *A brief discours contayning certayne reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to church* appeared in November/December 1580. Persons dedicated the first work published in England by an English Jesuit "TO THE MOST HIGHE & MIGHTIE Princese ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Quene of England France and Irland &c." He lauded Elizabeth and concluded his dedication with a prayer: "IESUS Christ, in abundance of mercye, blesse your Maiestye, to whome (as he knoweth) I wyshe as much good as to mine owne soule: perswading my selfe, that all good Catholicks in England do the same."⁴⁶ Was Persons' association with the press fortuitous, or was it strategic? Had Gilbert and his friends taken over the press, relocating it to East Ham in anticipation that the Jesuits would employ it in their mission? Had Persons and Gilbert worked this out in advance? Was it part of Allen's policy? With a printing press, Persons could explain the necessity of recusancy to Catholics while simultaneously lauding Her Majesty and demonstrating that Catholic non-conformity was rooted in religious orthodoxy and not political treason.

The assembling of the press, despite efforts to do so quietly and secretly, attracted attention. Suspicious parochial officials pressed the workers to attend Protestant services. The arrest and imprisonment of a worker sent to London to acquire paper, triggered alarm. George Gilbert and Persons withdrew from the house, fearful that torture would extract information from the captured labourer. Cautiously they completed printing *Brief discours*, and shortly thereafter, they dismantled the press for eventual re-assembly so that Persons could reply to scurrilous attacks on Campion.⁴⁷ Francis Browne (fl. 1580), brother of Anthony Browne, Lord Montague (ca. 1528–1592), provided the house, food, and staff. Brinkley set up his press in Southwark, most likely in Montague House, probably the site of the previous year's synod at which Persons promised to address occasional conformity.⁴⁸

46 (Doway [vere London]: 1580), ARCR, II, num. 613, sig. ƒƒ ii, [ƒƒ viii].

47 ABSI, Collectanea P 153, Chap. 17; P 153, Chap. 18, sections of which are translated or summarised in Hicks, *Letters and Memorials*, pp. xxxii–xxxiii. See also "The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons: Autobiography," (ed.) John Hungerford Pollen, SJ, and "The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons: A Storie of Domesticall Difficulties," (ed.) John Hungerford Pollen, SJ, in *Miscellanea II* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1906), pp. 28–29, 182–183.

48 Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England. Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, ca. 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 161–162.

The press survived at its Southwark location for a few months.⁴⁹ Its first publication, Persons' *A brief censure uppon two bookes written in answere to M. Edmonde Campions offer of disputation* (Lyons [= London], 1581) poured oil on the fire ignited by the distribution of Campion's so-called 'Brag'.⁵⁰ The attacks of William Charke (d. 1617) and Meredith Hanmer (1543–1604) on Campion demanded a rapid reply, and Persons' rejoinder apparently appeared approximately ten days after Hanmer's attack.⁵¹ Shortly thereafter Francis Browne and Charles Basset (fl. 1580), another member of Gilbert's association, were apprehended and committed to the Marshalsea prison.⁵² Fearing discovery, the press was moved to a third location. A servant of Roland Jenks (d. ca. 1577), an Oxford Catholic bookseller, did indeed reveal the press's location to the government.⁵³

The press's third location was Stonor Park, home of John Stonor (fl. 1581), another member of the association. Here two treatises were printed: Persons' exposé of the fraudulence of an apostate *A discoverie of I. Nicols Minister, misrepresented a Iesuite, latelye recanted in the Tower of London* (n.p., n.d. [Stonor, 1581]); and Campion's *Rationes decem* (n.p., n.d. [Stonor, 1581], the anticipated follow-up of his 'Brag'.⁵⁴ Copies of this small treatise were surreptitiously distributed

49 Leona Rostenberg erroneously conflates the East Ham and the Southwark presses (*The Minority Press & the English Crown 1558–1625* [Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1971], p. 24). Francis Edwards, SJ, makes the same mistake. See *Robert Persons: The Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), pp. 41–42. Edwards in fact credits Persons for "the first secret printing press in England...at Green street" (p. 41).

50 *ARCR*, II, num. 612.

51 *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay*, (ed.) Thomas Francis Knox (London: David Nutt, 1878), 20 March 1581, p. 177.

52 Persons's letter to Agazzari tentatively dated August, 1581 by Leo Hicks, SJ, may indeed be, as Hicks suggested, a "conflation of several letters sent at different dates to Agazzari and other correspondents" (*Letters and Memorials*, p. 72 n. 1). Persons mentioned that "last week" Gilbert was finally persuaded by Persons himself to leave the kingdom with Charles Basset, "Thomas More's great-grandson, of good family like George, a young man of zeal and piety" (p. 84). By August Persons surely would have known of Gilbert's escape and Basset's capture. Basset and Browne were arrested in an attempt to apprehend George Gilbert who escaped to the continent shortly thereafter. He was with William Allen in Douai by the end of June. See William Allen to Alfonso Agazzari, Rheims, 23 June 1581, in *The Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen (1532–1594)*, (ed.) Thomas Francis Knox (London: David Nutt, 1882), p. 97.

53 Pollen, 'Memoirs: Domesticall Difficulties,' pp. 182–183; Hicks, *Letters and Memorials*, p. xxxvii). On Jenkes's 1577 trial and his curse on Oxford, see Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 234–235.

54 *A discoverie of I. Nicols Minister, misrepresented a Iesuite, latelye recanted in the Tower of London*, *ARCR*, II, num. 625; *Rationes decem*, *ARCR*, I, num. 135.1. On the use of this book by

in the Church of St. Mary the Virgin in Oxford on 27 June 1581.⁵⁵ Campion's bravura, or if you prefer his gall, to pre-empt the 'Act,' an academic disputation at which candidates defended their theses to obtain their degrees, further antagonised the government. Already a wanted man because of the 'Brag,' Campion was captured at Lyford Grange in Berkshire on 17 July, less than a month after the small treatise's distribution. On 4 August, the Privy Council authorised Sir Henry Neville (1564–1615) and others to proceed to Stonor to search for copies of "certain Latin bookes dispersed abroad in Oxford...and also for such other English bookes as of late have been published for the maintenance of Poperie...and further, for the presse and other instrumentes of printing." Stonor was raided, the printing press seized, and John Stonor, Stephen Brinkley and others arrested.⁵⁶ By the end of the month Persons had crossed to France to follow up various projects. His departure transferred the recusant centre for publications to Rouen. Brinkley remained imprisoned for two years; upon his release he joined Persons in Rouen.

At an unknown date in 1581, before he left England and before he learned of the raid on Stonor, Robert Persons explained to Alfonso Agazzari, SJ (d. 1602), Rector of the English College, Rome, how the books were distributed:

With no less zeal on the part of the priests they [the books] are circulated, even at the cost of danger, in order that what is written may reach the hands of all. Their method is as follows: all the books are brought together to London without any being issued, and, after being distributed into the hands of the priests in parcels of a hundred or fifty, are issued at exactly the same time to all parts of the kingdom. Now on the next day, when according to their wont the officials begin to search the houses of Catholics because these books have been distributed, there are plenty of young men of birth ready to introduce these books by night into the dwellings of the heretics, into workshops as well as palaces, to scatter

non-English Catholics, see Clarinda E. Calma, 'Communicating across Communities. Explication in Gaspar Wilkowski's Polish Translation of Edmund Campion's *Rationes Decem*,' *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 1 (2014), pp. 589–606; and Mirosława Hanusiewicz-Lavallee, 'Recusant Prose in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century,' in this collection.

55 See Gerard Kilroy's 'A Cosmopolitan Book: Edmund Campion's *Rationes Decem*' in this collection.

56 *Acts of the Privy Council*, (ed.) John Roche Dasent (32 vols., London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1890–1907), XII, 154, 264.

them in the Court also, and about the streets, so that it may not be Catholics only who are accused in this matter.⁵⁷

This optimism may have faded somewhat after the destruction of the press at Stonor.

After Persons' departure for France, *A true reporte of the death & martyrdome of M. Campion Iesuite and prieste* (n.p., n. d. [London, 1582]) appeared.⁵⁸ This treatise generally attributed to Thomas Alfield (1552–1585) with the assistance of Stephen Vallenger (1541–1591),⁵⁹ Henry Walpole (1558–1595), and the printer Richard Rowland (1550–1640), better known by his Dutch surname Verstegan, was printed at a fourth secret press in Smithfield.⁶⁰ In early 1582, approximately six months after pursuivants under the leadership of William Fleetwood (1535–1594) had seized the press at Stonor, Fleetwood led the raid that discovered “the presse, the letters, the figures, and a nosmber (sic) of the books” in Smithfield as he related in a letter to William, Lord Burghley (1520–1598), on 14 April 1582.⁶¹ Rowland escaped to the continent, resumed the family surname Verstegan, and furthered the cause of English recusants through publications and communications in Paris, Rome, Rheims, and Antwerp. Alfield and Vallenger were among the captured. Tried and punished for his role in writing and publishing *A true report*, Vallenger was pilloried, lost both ears, and imprisoned for life.⁶² Alfield, tortured in the Tower of London, conformed to the Elizabethan Church and was released. Repenting his apostasy, he crossed to the continent. A repentant, contrite Alfield was in Rheims by April, 1583.⁶³ He returned to England, resumed his involvement with the distribution of recusant books,

57 Hicks, *Letters and Memorials*, p. 85.

58 *ARCR*, II, num. 4.

59 On him, see Anthony Petti, ‘Stephen Vallenger 1541–1591,’ *Recusant History*, 6 (1961), pp. 248–264.

60 See Marcin Polkowski’s ‘Richard Verstegan as a Publicist of the Counter-Reformation: Religion, Identity and Clandestine Literature’ in this volume. Also consulted Anne Dillon, ‘Seeing is Believing: Richard Verstegan’s Images of Elizabethan Catholic Martyrdom’ (paper given at the conference “Underground and Across the Channel: Subversive Publishing in Early Modern England and Poland,” Muzeum Erazma Ciołka, Tischner European University, Krakow, 24–26 September 2014).

61 This letter was published in *Unpublished Documents Relating to the English Martyrs*, (ed.) John Hungerford Pollen, SJ (London: Catholic Record Society, 1908), pp. 27–30. On Fleetwood, see P. R. Harris, ‘William Fleetwood Recorder of the City and Catholicism in Central London,’ *Recusant History*, 7 (1963), pp. 106–122.

62 Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, pp. 279–280.

63 Richard Barret to Alfonso Agazzari, Rheims 14 April 1583, in Knox, *Douay Diaries*, p. 325.

and was captured a second time. He was executed at Tyburn on 6 July 1585.⁶⁴ Walpole decided to leave England at this time probably a consequence of the capture of his colleagues. He arrived at the English College, Rheims, on 7 July 1582. He joined the Jesuits in Rome in 1584, returned to England in 1594, and was martyred in York on 7 April 1595.⁶⁵ No clandestine Catholic press functioned in England for approximately five years. The only possible exception would be of Wales, where a small press existed.⁶⁶ When one re-appeared, it would be under the direction of the Society of Jesus.

Conclusion

Shortly after his arrival in France in late summer 1581, Robert Persons explained the motives for his departure. In order of importance, the second was a desire “to set up some sort of printing place in some place near-by where the books could be printed which are brought out by our fathers in English as circumstances call for them; for there is nothing which helps and has helped and will protect in the future and spread our cause so much as the printing of Catholic books, whether of controversy or of devotion.”⁶⁷ Persons later distinguished the former from the latter in that works of controversy “fill the heads of men with a spirite of contradiction and contention, that for the most

64 Godfrey Anstruther, OP, does not mention Alfield's conforming to the Protestant Church and thus offers no explanation for his release from the Tower (*The Seminary Priests* [4 vols., Ware/Durham/Great Wakering, St. Edmund's College/Ushaw College/Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1968–1977], I, 3).

65 McCoog, *Monumenta Angliae*, II, 519. See also Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1589–1597. Building the Faith of Saint Peter upon the King of Spain's Monarchy* (Farnham/Rome: Ashgate/Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2012), pp. 153–162.

66 On this press, see Rostenberg, *Minority Press*, pp. 22–23; David M. Rogers, “Popishe Thackwell” and Early Catholic Printing in Wales, *Biographical Studies* [=Recusant History], 2 (1953), pp. 37–54. Perhaps in her research on the Jesuit library in Hereford Cathedral, Hannah Thomas may discover some publications of this press. See her ‘The Society of Jesus in Wales, ca. 1600–1679. Rediscovering the Cwm Jesuit Library at Hereford Cathedral,’ *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 1 (2014), pp. 572–588; and ‘Books which are necessary for them: Reconstructing a Jesuit Missionary Library in Wales and the English Borderlands, ca. 1600–1679,’ in this collection.

67 Persons to Acquaviva, [21 October 1581], in Hicks, *Letters and Memorials*, p. 107. See also Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 112.

parte hindereth devotion.”⁶⁸ For the next five years, France, or more specifically the regions that supported the Guises and the Catholic League, became the publishing centre for English Catholics. This encompassed not just the presses employed by Persons in Rouen but the ones with which Allen worked in Paris and Rheims. Of the 15 books published by Persons’ presses, 11 were spiritual and devotional: editions of Persons’ *Christian Directory*; Whitford’s translation of the *Imitatio Christi*; Richard Hopkins’s translations of two spiritual treatises by Luis de Granada (1505–1588); and translations of works by Loarte and Diego de Estella (1524–1578). Although Granada and Estella were respectively a Dominican and a Franciscan, their works carried a Jesuit ‘stamp of approval’ as they were recommended for use within the Society. Moreover the classic treatise of the *Devotio moderna*, the *Imitatio Christi*, was a particular favourite of Ignatius Loyola.⁶⁹

In the late summer of 1586 Robert Persons arrived in Rome, summoned by an anxious Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615), to complete tertianship, the final stage of Jesuit formation. William Allen accompanied him. With the departure of Allen and Persons, France’s significance in recusant affairs diminished considerably as the religious wars morphed into a dynastic struggle. But as recusant publications dwindled on the continent, Father General Claudio Acquaviva authorised the third wave of the Jesuit mission. He instructed Henry Garnet (1555–1606) and Robert Southwell (1561–1595) to print pamphlets “for the defence of the faith and the edification of Catholics.”⁷⁰ Acquaviva selected Garnet for the English mission, despite pleas by the noted Jesuit mathematician Christopher Clavius (1538–1612) that Garnet continue on the faculty of the Roman College, most likely because of his earlier experience with printing.⁷¹ A ministry perhaps designed by Allen and initiated by Persons had now become part of the Society’s strategy. Under the direction of Garnet and

68 Cited in Ronald Corthell, ‘Politics and Devotion. The Case of Robert Persons vs. Edmund Bunny, Author of *A Book of Christian Exercise*’, *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 1 (2014), pp. 558–571, at p. 562.

69 See Thomas H. Clancy, SJ, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1976), pp. 27–30, 123, 125; Maximilian von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the Imitatio Christi, 1425–1650* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 179–242; Alexandra Walsham, ‘Luis de Granada’s Mission to Protestant England: Print, Polemic, and the Devotional Literature of the Spanish Counter-Reformation,’ in this collection.

70 Hicks, *Letters and Memorials*, p. 356.

71 Philip Caraman, SJ, *Henry Garnet 1555–1606 and the Gunpowder Plot* (London: Longmans, 1964), pp. 7–8, 16–18; Brown, ‘Robert Southwell,’ p. 255.

Southwell, the clandestine press continued to produce devotional works.⁷² Such works served as a “surrogate for the sermon and the spoken word.”⁷³ They strengthened the resolve of, and guided godly households through prayers and spiritual exercises for Catholics frequently without easy access to clergy and the sacraments. By means of the ‘written word’ such as Southwell’s *A shorte rule of good life* (n.p., n.d. [England, 1596–97]) and *An epistle of comfort* (Paris, n.d. [= London, 1587]), Jesuits nurtured an Ignatian spirituality among the laity as they were doing with the secular clergy in the continental seminaries.⁷⁴ With the exception of the English College in Douai, Jesuit pedagogy and Ignatian spirituality pervaded seminary formation.⁷⁵ Through the spiritual works of Southwell, Persons, and Loarte, Jesuits infused English Catholic culture with an Ignatian perspective. Later some secular clergy sensing an inferior status to the Jesuits cited lay preference for Jesuit confessors and spiritual directors as evidence of the Society’s aspiration to control the mission. The Society’s “mission of the written word” inadvertently fostered an antagonism that, having simmered for twenty years, erupted as the Archbishop/Appellant Controversy threatening the continuation of the mission itself.

72 John R. Yamamoto-Wilson explores Protestant readership of Catholic devotional texts in ‘The Protestant Reception of Catholic Devotional Literature in England to 1700,’ *Recusant History*, 32 (2014), pp. 68–89.

73 Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*, p. 308. See also pp. 281–283.

74 *A shorte rule of good life*, *ARCR*, II, num. 714; *An epistle of comfort*, *ARCR*, II, num. 721.

75 See Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, “Replant the uprooted trunk of the tree of faith”: The Society of Jesus and the Continental Colleges for Religious Exiles,’ in *Insular Christianity. Alternative Models of the Church in Britain and Ireland, ca. 1570–ca. 1700*, (eds.) Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó Hannracháin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 28–48. See also Earle Havens, ‘Books for the Church Militant: Religious Persecution, the 16th-Century English Catholic Internationale, and the Library of the Royal English College of St. Alban, Valladolid, 1589–1650,’ in this collection.

“Books Which are Necessary for Them”: Reconstructing a Jesuit Missionary Library in Wales and the English Borderlands, ca. 1600–1679

Hannah Thomas

By 1623, the English province of the Society of Jesus had been created, and England and Wales had been divided into districts to enable efficient administration and distribution of the Jesuit missionaries, whilst still allowing their operations to remain largely undetected.¹ Each district was designated as a ‘college’ or ‘residence,’ a unique Jesuit response to the difficult conditions created by the body of anti-Catholic legislation passed by the English parliament in London from the 1580s onwards. Although eventually intended for development into Jesuit *collegia* in the educational sense when political conditions allowed, the terms instead denoted each district’s financial stability: districts with secure annual incomes were termed colleges, governed by a rector, whilst those with less secure incomes were termed residences, governed by a superior.²

Territorially, the Welsh district, known as the College of St. Francis Xavier, was the most extensive district of the English province, covering the whole of Wales, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Somerset, and Gloucestershire, an area of some 30,000 square kilometres until approximately 1667. Even after this time when, for practical reasons, the area had been divided in two and the residence of St. Winefride created in North Wales, the College of St. Francis Xavier, now the South Wales and Herefordshire district, was still one of the most extensive districts of the entire province, covering some 20,000 square kilometres. The headquarters of this large territory was at the Cwm, a settlement of three farms: the Cwm and the Upper Cwm – where the Jesuits of the College of St. Francis Xavier lived and worked – and Llangunville, which operated as the main supply farm of the college, located twenty miles south of Hereford and

-
- 1 The paper is drawn from the Cwm Jesuit Library Project, a three-year collaborative doctoral project (2011–2014) between Hereford Cathedral and Swansea University, funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council [AHRC].
 - 2 Maurice Whitehead, ‘The Jesuit *Collegium Sancti Francisci Xaverii* in South Wales and the South West of England and its links with the Low Countries, ca. 1600–1679,’ in *The Jesuits of the Low Countries: Identities and Impact (1540–1773)*, edited by Rob Faesen and Leo Kenis (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), p. 197.

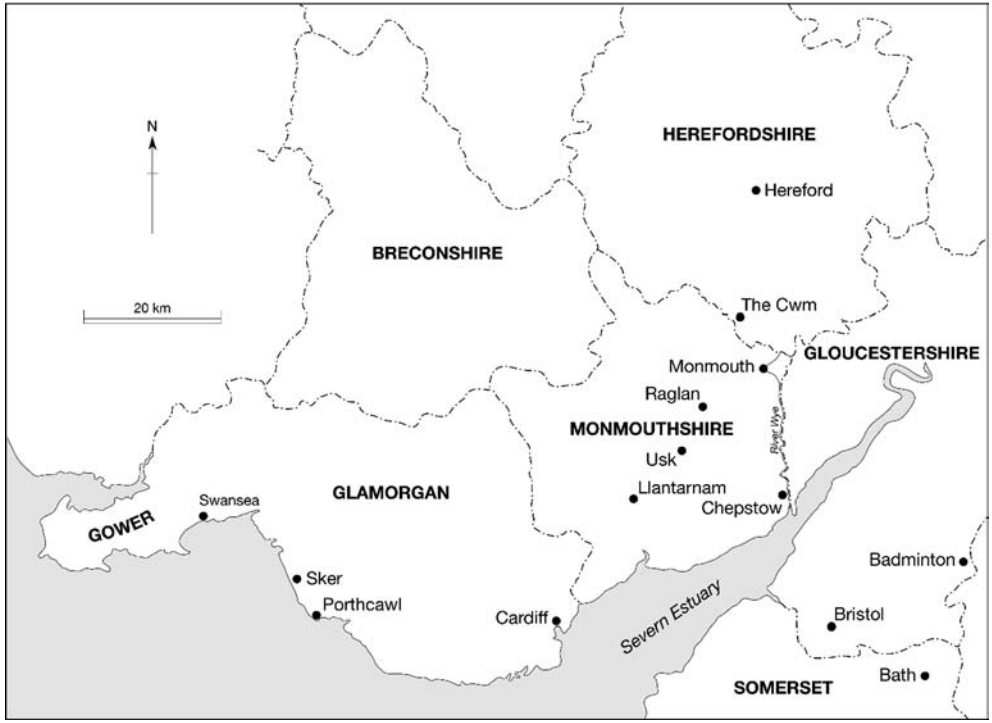


FIGURE 8.1 *Map of key locations in Wales, as printed in Maurice Whitehead, 'The Jesuit Collegium Sancti Francisci Xaverii in South Wales and the South West of England and its links with the Low Countries, ca. 1600–1679,' in The Jesuits of the Low Countries: Identities and Impact (1540–1773), edited by Rob Faesen and Leo Kenis (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), p. 199.*

three miles north-west of Monmouth.³ The farms are located on the Welsh-English border, as well as near the three county borders of Monmouthshire, Herefordshire, and Gloucestershire. This would seem to be a curious choice of location for the main base of this vast territory, particularly given its non-central position within the district and its difficult terrain: access is still difficult in the modern day, particularly in inclement weather.

The choice of location for clandestine Catholic headquarters and their proximity to borders is of vital importance in the study of post-Reformation culture.

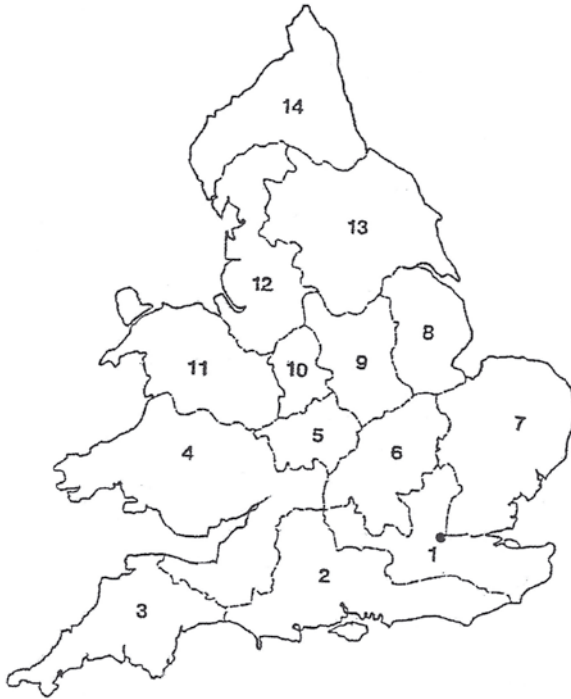
3 None of the original farm houses have survived, although the existing Georgian farmhouses of the Cwm and the Upper Cwm stand above their respective original seventeenth-century cellars, and various seventeenth-century barns and other working farm buildings can be found in and around all three farms.

It is deliberately included in the title of this paper as an often overlooked tool in understanding the success of subversive activities.⁴ Methods of law enforcement in early modern England and Wales were organised according to geographical boundaries, such as parishes and counties, and therefore jurisdiction obtained only within these areas. Thus, for a community of Jesuits ministering covertly to a large recusant Catholic population, the ability to pass quickly into a different county (in this case, one of three), or even a country, would have provided some measure of security and support for the dangerous work being undertaken. By the time anyone in pursuit had reached the main town of the next county, alerted the sheriff or local magistrate, raised a posse and returned to where the suspect had last been seen, the person or persons in question would have long been gone. In the case of the College of St Francis Xavier, the potential linguistic difference between English and Welsh border towns added a further element of possible delay in the efficient pursuit of a suspect. Crucially, the three farms were also within close proximity of the three diocesan borders of the dioceses of Hereford, Llandaff and St Davids, with a fourth diocesan border of the diocese of Gloucester also within striking distance. It seems likely that the topography of the area and the location had been deliberately chosen to take advantage of these features, whether by the Jesuits themselves or by their patrons, the earls of Worcester, who had given them the land.

The creation of the College of St Francis Xavier by 1623 was not a new missionary endeavour, and was in fact confirmation of an already flourishing Jesuit missionary base – the Jesuits had been based in Wales since 1595, and under the patronage of the enormously wealthy and powerful earls of Worcester, who owned most of the land used by the Jesuits, successful missionary activity had been ongoing since this date.⁵ By the early 1600s, a missionary library had been established, probably at the home of their patrons at Raglan Castle; several students had been successfully smuggled out of Wales and the

4 County borders were utilized by the Catholic community in many similar locations in England and Wales, for example, Stonor Park, within striking distance of the Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire county borders, had been home to the recusant Stonor family since 1349: it operated as a missionary headquarters for both Edmund Campion, SJ, and Robert Parsons, SJ, in the early years of the Jesuit English mission: Bede Camm, *Forgotten Shrines: An Account of Some Old Catholic Halls and Families in England and of Relics and Memorials of the English Martyrs* (Burns, Oates & Washbourne: London, 1936), pp. 97–103.

5 For more on the patronage and protection offered to the Catholic community by the earls of Worcester, see Maurice Whitehead, 'Jesuit *Collegium Sancti Francisci Xaverii*' pp. 197–211.



1. College of St Ignatius, or the London District
2. Residence of St Thomas of Canterbury, or the Hampshire District
3. Residence of St Stanislaus, or the Devonshire District
4. College of St Francis Xavier, or the South Wales and Herefordshire District
5. Residence of St George, or the Worcestershire District
6. Residence of St Mary, or the Oxfordshire District
7. College of the Holy Apostles, or the Suffolk District
8. Residence of St Dominic, or the Lincolnshire District
9. College of the Immaculate Conception, or the Derbyshire District
10. College of St Chad, or the Staffordshire District
11. Residence of St Winefride, or the North Wales District
12. College of St Aloysius, or the Lancashire District
13. Residence of St Michael, or the Yorkshire District
14. Residence of St John the Evangelist, or the Durham District

FIGURE 8.2 *Map of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, ca. 1670, as printed in Maurice Whitehead, English Jesuit Education: Expulsion, Suppression, Survival and Restoration, 1762–1803 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 27.*

borderlands to the English colleges at Valladolid and Douai; and a thriving network of supportive gentry, secular priests and Jesuits was active throughout the region, which already had gained a reputation as a Catholic stronghold by the 1570s.⁶

A Jesuit Missionary Library

Given the well-chosen and fully utilised location, what did all this mean for the library? What did a Jesuit missionary library actually look like? The Society of Jesus had been closely connected with the written word since its early days, as well as with the practice of keeping and using large collections of books. Numerous members of the Society would become prolific presences in print, furthering the use of printing technologies as a successful method for the dissemination of their message. Books and access to the written word were a key part in the creation of the Society in the first place: the well-known conversion experience of its founder, Ignatius of Loyola (ca.1491–1556), rested upon a dramatic change of perspective after reading Ludolf of Saxony's *Vita Christi* and *Flos Sanctorum*, known as the *Golden Legend*, a popular compendium of the lives of saints, both of which were available in Spanish by the early sixteenth century.⁷

Libraries, therefore, were fundamentally important to the Society of Jesus from the very early years of the Society, and were a key part of their successful international missionary endeavours. Remarkably, rules were published, in Portuguese and Latin, for the management of any book collections in the care of the Society from 1546 onwards: two years before the *Spiritual Exercises* were available in print in 1548, and 13 years before rules for the care of members of

6 Dr. Morys Clynnog (ca. 1525–ca. 1580), a Welsh Catholic exile and author and rector of the English College in Rome, had asserted as early as 1572 that as the Israelites awaited the Messiah, so too the Welsh awaited the restoration of Catholicism. Clynnog also declared that Catholicism was so strong in Wales that “scarcely a single man in a thousand will be found to be a heretic”: see J.M. Cleary, “Dr Morys Clynnog’s invasion projects of 1575–1576,” *Recusant History* 8 (1966), pp. 306–307; Meic Stephens (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1990), p. 94; Geraint Bowen, “Morys Clynnog (1521–1580/1),” *Transactions of the Caernarfonshire Historical Society* 27 (1966): p. 92; and T.F. Mayer, “Clenock, Maurice (ca. 1525–1580?),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [ODNB], accessed January 2, 2015.

7 Joseph A. Munitiz and Philip Endean (eds.), ‘Reminiscences or Autobiography of Ignatius Loyola,’ as cited in *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2004), p. 14 and fn. 6, p. 361.

the Society themselves were finalised in 1559. Book collections were a staple feature of Jesuit life from the opening of the Society's first college at Messina in 1548, and management of the libraries and access to the material contained therein was of paramount importance. These rules, with a few changes to subsequent editions, remained the basis of Jesuit librarianship until 1932, when a major revision was undertaken.⁸ The 1546 rules draw a distinction between different types of library that may be found within a Jesuit institution, particularly between the library intended for common use, and that for private use by an individual. This is echoed in the 1559 *Constitutions*, which notes that "there should be a general library in the colleges...furthermore, the individuals should have the books which are necessary for them."⁹ The *Constitutions* also notes the importance of access to the materials contained within the library, remarking that, at mealtimes,

Food should also be given to the soul through the reading of some book which is devotional rather than difficult, so that all can understand it and draw profit from it.¹⁰

For the Jesuits residing in the ever-growing network of continental colleges, tertianships and schools, large and extensive libraries were established containing appropriate reading material and texts for use in their missionary activities, and many Jesuit institutions held libraries of several thousand volumes, such as at Rome, Valladolid, Liège and Ghent.¹¹ Matters were considerably more difficult for those Jesuits working in the difficult and dangerous political conditions of post-Reformation England and Wales: Catholic literature, and its potential influence on the Catholic community was deemed extremely dangerous by the English Anglican authorities. The *Act to Prevent and avoid Dangers which may grow by Popish Recusants* of 1606, along with restrictions against the harbouring of priests, Catholics holding public office and convicted recusants holding arms, also laid out specific restrictions on the buying or selling of Catholic books. Such literature was potentially so dangerous that the act even differentiated between books published in different languages: those

8 Brendan Connolly, SJ, 'Jesuit library beginnings,' *The Library Quarterly*, 30 (1960), p. 244.

9 George E. Ganss, SJ, (trans.), *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (St Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970) [hereafter *Constitutions*], §72.

10 *Constitutions*, §251.

11 For example, the library at Liege numbered some 7,000 titles by 1792, and that at Valladolid approximately 9,000 volumes: see Maurice Whitehead, *English Jesuit Education*, pp. 136–142.

caught importing, printing, buying or selling popish books written in English, or any works thought “unmeet for such recusants” were to be seized, and the perpetrator fined 40 shillings per book.¹²

Though access to a readily available continental Catholic literary culture was extremely difficult under these conditions, evidence survives which suggests that not only was this literary heritage available for Jesuits all over England and Wales, but also that well-stocked libraries were at the heart of most, if not all, 14 districts of the English Province, either at missionary headquarters, or at the home of sympathetic patrons. The library at the Cwm was no exception – consisting of approximately 336 volumes, printed between 1503 and 1676, the surviving books illustrate the truly international nature of Catholic life in seventeenth century England and Wales.¹³ The books were printed all over Europe in places such as Cologne, Mainz, Antwerp, Rome, Liège, Paris, Munich and Ingolstadt. Although caution is required as the date of publication does not necessarily equal the date of acquisition, the majority of these books were printed between 1595 and 1676, during the period of intensive Jesuit missionary activity in Wales, and it seems reasonable to assume that relatively new books were being purchased on the continent and smuggled into Wales continuously throughout this period. Far from being isolated in a secluded valley on the Welsh border, the Jesuits at the College of St Francis Xavier remained deeply connected with their continental European counterparts and a shared Catholic culture. The uses of the library are reflected in their sizes and binding – approximately a third of the volumes are folio sized works, exclusively bound in leather, and, conversely, the majority of the smaller volumes, particularly the octavos and duodecimos, are bound in simple vellum bindings. Covered in a light, flexible and durable binding, the vellum-bound volumes could be easily slipped into a bag or a pocket of a missionary Jesuit as he travelled about the vast territory of the College of St Francis Xavier. Similarly, the larger leather-bound folios are much heavier and much less flexible, and distinctly less worn than the smaller volumes: were they perhaps the ‘reference’ library volumes that were to remain in the College at all times?

12 *Laws Against Papists: 3 Jac 1 Cap 5 An Act to Prevent and avoid Dangers which may grow by Popish Recusants* (1606), pp. 40–51, at 43.

13 The library was analysed in detail as part of the doctoral project mentioned in footnote no. 1 above. See Hannah Thomas, ‘A great number of popish books’: a study of the Welsh Jesuit missionary library of the College of St Francis Xavier, ca. 1600–1679 (unpublished PhD thesis, Swansea University, 2014); and idem ‘Missioners on the Margins? The territorial headquarters of the Welsh Jesuit College of St Francis Xavier at the Cwm, ca. 1600–1679,’ *Recusant History* 32 (2014), pp. 175–196.

Jesuit Libraries: The English Province

The surviving volumes from the Cwm represent one of only two surviving book collections or libraries that were available for the early modern Jesuits of England and Wales. The library was seized when the Cwm was raided in December 1678 at the height of the public hysteria surrounding the fictitious Popish Plot; the books were removed to Hereford Cathedral by February 1679, where they still remain.¹⁴ The other surviving collection, the library of the College of the Immaculate Conception, or the Derbyshire District, was seized in similar circumstances from Holbeck House, one of two missionary bases used by the Jesuits within the territory. This library was seized by pursuivants on 27 March 1679, and given to Sion College, London, to replenish their library which had been largely lost in the Great Fire of London in 1666.¹⁵ Although only a handful of volumes from the Holbeck library have been traced, an extensive catalogue, made by Sion librarian John Spencer in July 1679, survives at Lambeth Palace Library, providing a useful comparison point with the large number of surviving volumes that have now been traced from the Cwm library.¹⁶

Other libraries known to have existed, but now lost, include the library of the College of the Holy Apostles, or the Suffolk district, which remained under the care of the Petre family at Thornton until 1773, when it was sold by Lord Petre; the library of the College of St Hugh, in Lincolnshire, which is recorded as being either burnt, destroyed or stolen in 1644; the library of the Residence of St George, or the Worcestershire district, the bulk of which was kept by the earl of Shrewsbury at Grafton; and a smaller subset of the library belonging

14 Although the library has remained at Hereford Cathedral since 1679, it was fully catalogued for the first time in 2010, and additional volumes were identified during the doctoral project using provenance marks, inscriptions and coded cataloguing marks: see Hannah Thomas, 'The Society of Jesus in Wales ca. 1600–1679: Rediscovering the Cwm Jesuit Library at Hereford Cathedral,' *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 1 (2014) pp. 572–588. The volumes can be found in Hereford Cathedral's online catalogue, using a keyword search 'Cwm.'

15 A number of the Holbeck volumes survive at Lambeth Palace Library, and are currently being catalogued for inclusion in their online catalogue.

16 Spencer's 1679 catalogue has been thoroughly analysed, contextualised and evaluated as part of a doctoral research project by Dr Hendrik Dijkgraaf. See Hendrik Dijkgraaf, *The Library of a Jesuit Community at Holbeck, Nottinghamshire (1679)*, (Cambridge: LP Publications, 2003), hereafter *Holbeck*. All following references to the Holbeck library are taken from this work.

to the College of the Immaculate Conception in Derbyshire, held at Spinkhill, residence of the Pole family. Much like the collection at Thorndon, it remained undisturbed until at least the eighteenth century: a catalogue drawn up by Joseph Blundell, SJ, in 1721, lists some 189 volumes still *in situ*.¹⁷

Authors, Genres and Subjects

As the only other surviving Jesuit missionary library from within the English Province, a close comparison and analysis of the Holbeck library's contents can add an extra dimension of understanding to the Cwm collection, and more broadly, provide a point of direct comparison to better understand the role and importance of libraries in Jesuit missionary work. Given the differences between these two surviving English Jesuit missionary libraries, the division of the surviving or known books from each library into categories, and thereafter establishing the percentage that each category makes up of the overall surviving books from each district, is the most accurate way both of establishing correlations between the two libraries, and of beginning to discern broader themes and patterns within Jesuit missionary libraries. As part of his analysis of the Holbeck catalogue, Dijkgraaf divided the library into 18 categories:¹⁸

In both libraries, the Law category represented by these statistics is predominantly made up of volumes of the *Institute*, first printed as a complete set in 1635 by Johann Meursius of Antwerp.¹⁹ As well as a complete set of the

17 Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, *The Society of Jesus in England, 1623–1688: An Institutional Study* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 1984), pp. 300–301, 337, 432 respectively. It is possible that the library sold by Lord Petre from Thornton was at least part of the large collection purchased by Catholic bookseller James Coghlan in the 1780s: see Frans Blom, Jos Blom, Frans Korsten, & Geoffrey Scott (eds), *The correspondence of James Peter Coghlan (1731–1800)*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 109, 126–152, 185, 283–284 and 413. See also Foley, *Records* 4, pp. 1–330 and Dijkgraaf, *Holbeck*, pp. 90–91. The 1721 catalogue can be found at the Archives of the British Province of the Society of Jesus, London [ABSI], MR/2 ff. 230–232.

18 All shelfmarks cited in this chapter are either from Hereford Cathedral Library, indicated by 'HCL,' or from the Holbeck catalogue as edited and published by Dijkgraaf, indicated by 'Hb.' The surviving volumes from the Holbeck library are available for consultation at Lambeth Palace Library, as part of the Sion College collection. The catalogue is currently only available *in situ* in the form of index cards.

19 The only volume not printed in 1635 is Meursius's edition of the *Spiritual Exercises* (U.3.4) which was printed in 1638. However it seems to have been considered to be a part of the

TABLE 8.1 *A Comparative Table of the CWM and Holbeck Library Collections according to categories*

Category	CWM	% of total	Holbeck	% of total
Bibles and Biblical Commentaries	16	4.7	30	2.8
Patrology	14	4.2	15	1.4
Exegesis	3	1.4	40	3.7
Dogmatic Theology	42	12.5	45	4.1
Moral Theology	24	7.1	95	8.8
Ascetic Theology	35	10.4	200	18.4
Controversy	73	21.6	260	23.8
Hagiography	17	5.1	50	4.6
Sermons	4	1.4	50	4.6
Law/Rules	29	8.6	50	4.6
Church History	50	14.8	45	4.1
History	10	3.6	45	4.1
Philosophy	4	1.2	20	1.8
Science	2	0.6	25	2.3
Classical Literature	0	0	60	5.5
Literature	0	0	30	2.8
Dictionaries and bibliographies	0	0	5	0.5
<i>Other</i>	4	1.4	0	0

Meursius edition at the Cwm, the Cwm library also includes several earlier editions of many of the key works. This pattern is repeated at Holbeck: a nearly complete set of the 1635 edition is joined by several copies of earlier editions, indicative of their fundamental role in Jesuit daily life. Overall, the authors and subjects represented by the two surviving collections give a clear indication of the two principal focuses of Jesuit missionary life in England and Wales at this period: asceticism, and Jesuit spirituality, ideals and way of life;

same set by the Jesuits at the Cwm, as it is in the same binding as the 1635 volumes, and is marked 'Ex.' and '13' on the spine, in the same hand as on the other *Institute* volumes (where marks survive).

and controversy or polemic, particularly around the controversial and much-debated theological changes ushered in by the Reformation. It is on these two categories that the remainder of the chapter will focus.

Polemic Works

One of the largest categories in both libraries is that of polemic, or controversial, works: books that come under this description make up nearly a quarter of both the Cwm and the Holbeck collections. There are some 65 works in this category within the Cwm library, none of which are duplicates. Over a third of these are written in English, the highest proportion of books in this language in any category within the Cwm library.

The primary aim of the Jesuit mission to England and Wales, as established by Superior General Everard Mercurian (1514–1580) in 1580, was to work among the English Catholics to strengthen their faith and win back the lapsed: theirs was not a job of conversion, and, crucially, they were to avoid any political involvement whatsoever, either in person or in their letters.²⁰ However, it is clear from the high percentage of books surviving in both the Cwm and Holbeck libraries on the controversial and polemic debates raging on all sides that, in reality, by 1679, much of the Jesuits' time and attention had been, and continued to be taken up with, at the very least, reading up on these latest debates and discussions raging between the various religious denominations and perspectives. Far from avoiding any political involvement, the category of controversial and polemic works is by far the biggest in both libraries.

Authors such as William Bishop (ca. 1553–1624); Matthew Wilson (1582–1656), alias Edward Knott; Thomas Carwell (1600–1664); Cardinal William Allen (1532–1594) and others are well represented in the surviving material, as are the controversial debates throughout the period. These included the conversion to Catholicism of the Duchess of Buckingham in 1622, or the long running debate on the nature of Salvation begun with Sir Tobie Matthew's (1577–1655) *Charity Mistaken* in 1630, and still ongoing in 1652 with Knott's contribution. Thomas Carwell's *Dr Lawd's Labyrinth* was included amongst the Cwm library volumes, a work which addressed the particular controversy surrounding the somewhat dramatic conversion to Catholicism of Mary Villiers, Countess of Buckingham (ca.1570–1632), mother of the more famous George Villiers (1592–1628), Duke of Buckingham. In order to persuade her away from conversion, which would

20 McCoo, *Institutional Study*, pp. 55–57.

have greatly damaged Buckingham's already precarious political standing, James I supervised a series of secret debates in 1622 between William Laud (1573–1645), then Bishop of St Davids, and John Fisher SJ (1569–1641), *vere* Percy, the Countess's confessor, the aim of which was to demonstrate to the watching Countess the truths of the Anglican faith and the errors of Rome.²¹ Presumably prompted by the success of his efforts, Fisher published his manuscript account of the debates in 1625, answering the nine points raised by James which had been the focal point of the discussions: the Cwm copy of Fisher's *Answere unto the nine points of controversy* is the second edition, which included much new material, a point-by-point refutation of James's points of controversy, and a 'learned commentary,' added by Floyd in support of Fisher/Percy.²²

The Cwm library also included Theophilus Higgons's *First Motive of TH Maister of Arts to suspect the integrity of his religion*.²³ Higgons had been converted to Catholicism by John Floyd senior (1574–1649) in 1609, and the hotly controversial account of the conversion process, which also debated key questions such as purgatory and praying for the dead, was a dangerous book to have on library shelves: several copies were seized at the house of the Venetian ambassador in London only a few months after publication.²⁴ Similarly, the Welsh missionary library included two works involved in another protracted polemic debate: William Bishop's *Reformation of a Catholike deformed* and Bishop's later *Reproofe of Doct[or] Abbots defence of the Catholike deformed by Perkins*.²⁵ The former volume in particular shows evidence of heavy use by several readers, such as evidence of different levels of scholarly engagement with the text, with manuscript marginalia such as "good point worth noting" and other summaries of the points being made. It also contains a particularly vitriolic expression of one reader's feelings on the idea of 'church papistry' – manuscript notes on the rear endpaper comment that:

To frequent Protestants churches is to profess their religion. But to profess their religion is forbidd by ye lawes of nature [and] of God, of ye

21 Charles Carlton, *Archbishop William Laud* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1987), pp. 32–39; see also Laud, *ODNB*.

22 HCL U.4.22, Hb 238. Fisher's response also refuted the arguments against Catholicism proposed by F. White in his *Replie to Jesuit Fishers Answere* (1624; ARCR II 596). HCL N.6.2, Hb 189. Carwell's contribution appeared in print long after both Laud and John Fisher had died. The edition in the Cwm library appears to be one of the earliest surviving.

23 HCL U.2.4, Hb 793.

24 See ARCR II 433, p. 86; see also Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, *English and Welsh Jesuits 1555–1650: A–F* (Southampton: Catholic Record Society, 1994), p. 173.

25 HCL U.5.9 and HCL U.4.19.

church as a mortal sinne & not dispensable. Ergo to frequent Protestants churches is forbidd by all lawes mentioned is a mortal sinne & not dispensable.²⁶

Amongst the other surviving works classed as polemic, a surprising fact is revealed. Reading material for the Jesuits at the Cwm, and the community to whom they ministered, was not merely *Catholic* polemic, but also included works from the other side of the confessional divide, such as Richard Hooker's *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie*, described by Pope Clement VIII (1536–1605) as having “such seeds of eternity that it will abide until the last fire shall consume all learning,” which would have added an extra depth to the debates and discussions at the Cwm.²⁷ Similarly, the *Conference of Catholicke and Protestant doctrine* by Richard Smith (1566–1655), as well as his *Answer to Thomas Bels* were listed amongst the Cwm books.²⁸ The inclusion of Smith's works in particular is intriguing: were the Jesuits at the Cwm familiarising themselves with the other side of the argument in order to best defend themselves against Smith? Or were the volumes included as a sort of pragmatic insurance policy, to distract any unwanted visitor away from the overtly Catholic books elsewhere in the library? A further volume in the Cwm library adds weight to this theory: the only surviving edition of Robert Persons' *Christian Directory* in the Cwm library is the Protestant edited and approved Edward Bunny (1540–1619) edition, published in Oxford in 1585. The volume is clearly labelled with ‘Bunny’ on the spine in large letters, suggesting it may have been left out deliberately to be seen by any pursuivants.²⁹

Asceticism and Ignatian Spirituality

The second focus of both the Cwm library and the Holbeck library was asceticism, a simple and prayerful theology, underpinned by Ignatian spirituality. Asceticism and an ascetic way of life was a fundamental concept of the Society of Jesus, and is well represented in the surviving Cwm books, with authors such as Luis de la Puente (1554–1624), Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595–1658), Jacobo Alvarez de Paz (1560–1620), Francisco Arias (1533–1605) and Diego de

26 As cited in HCL U.5.9, anonymous MS inscription, rear endpapers.

27 HCL D.6.7a (books 2–5, 1604) and D.6.7b (book 1, 1597), Hb 181. I am very grateful to Canon Chris Pullin of Hereford Cathedral for drawing this quotation to my attention.

28 HCL N.6.3 and U.4.9. Neither work is listed in the Holbeck catalogue.

29 HCL U.10.8. The Holbeck catalogue only includes the Persons edition: Hb 644.

Estella (1524–1578), as well as Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615), Thomas a Kempis (ca. 1380–1471) and Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) himself. Chief among the key works of ascetic theology is the seminal *Spiritual Exercises*. Composed by Ignatius after his conversion and experiences in Manresa as a pilgrim and providing the first evidence of him beginning to use these experiences to fulfil his mission of helping others, the *Exercises* are a work of fundamental importance to understanding how and why the Society of Jesus operated in its early years, and continues to operate to this day.

Essentially, the *Exercises* were designed to be experienced rather than read, and were innovative in their ability to be undertaken in whichever way suited the individual, as well as in their introduction of a dialogue between the ‘spiritual director’ and the person undertaking the exercises.³⁰ Practising prayer in the form of meditation, or as part of a spiritual retreat, was what set it apart from traceable predecessors in devotional literature. Juan Alfonso de Polanco’s (1517–1576) description of them as “the compendium of all the means the Jesuits had for helping souls” illustrates just how important this work is to the Society of Jesus.³¹ The *Spiritual Exercises* gave birth to a new generation of works and literature: many of the works listed in the ascetic categories of both libraries are works of a fundamentally Ignatian spirituality.³²

Luis de la Puente, SJ, for example, features amongst the listed ascetic works, which included his *Meditations upon the Mysteries of our Holie Faith*, and a Latin edition of the same work, *Meditationes de praecipuis fidei*, as well as his seminal work on *De Christiana hominis perfectione*.³³ Other works of de la Puente include a biography of his spiritual master, Balthasar Alvarez (1533–1580), *Vita P. Balthasaris Alvarez* published in Cologne in 1616, as well as the second volume only of a two volume edition of his *Dux Spiritualis*.³⁴ Of the five editions of his works that feature within the surviving Cwm collection, all but one were printed in Cologne between 1613 and 1619 by Johann Kinckius (1579–1656), suggesting perhaps that de la Puente’s works were deliberately acquired at

30 James Martin, *The Jesuit Guide to (almost) everything* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2012), pp. 19–21.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47, 372 and 364 respectively.

32 Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), p. 257, hereafter *Catholic Reformation*.

33 HCL U.6.1–2, Hb 224; HCL U.3.18; Hb 515a and HCL N.3.6–8, Hb 342 respectively. The English edition is bound in leather, featuring gold-tooled panels with images of the crucifixion and the Virgin Mary on each cover. The Cwm edition of *De Christiana hominis perfectione* is incomplete, missing the first volume, but the second, third and fourth volumes are all inscribed with the ownership mark ‘Soc J’ in the same hand.

34 HCL U.3.20, Hb 468 and HCL U.7.12 respectively. See also Holbeck pp. 266–267.

around the same time, and added to the Cwm library as one collection. The fifth book was printed in Saint-Omer by Charles Boscard (d. 1629) in 1619: this fits in with a targeted acquisition of the works within a small time-frame, and the small scattering of inscriptions that feature on these volumes suggest that the Cwm itself was acting as a lending library of sorts, or, at the very least, a shared reading space for members of the Catholic community, rather than simply a collection to which individuals donated their own marked books after they had finished using them.

Other biographies of early Jesuits had a function within daily missionary life far beyond their immediate hagiographical use. Works such as Ribadeneyra's *Vita Ignatii Loiolae* and Torsellino's *Vita Francisci Xaverii* would have had an ascetic purpose, providing a focal point for prayer and meditation, and spiritual development.³⁵ Far from simple hagiographies, as categorised by Dijkgraaf, for the Jesuits of the College of St Francis Xavier (and indeed, the College of the Immaculate Conception), the lives and lessons of these two men were more intrinsically connected with their day-to-day missionary work and spiritual life than simply as historical accounts of lives previously lived.

Manuscripts

A number of works also survive in the Cwm collection at Hereford Cathedral in manuscript form. All six volumes are covered in a simple vellum binding with very little in the way of decoration or tooling, and appear to have been considered as something of a distinct collection by the Jesuits at the Cwm: three of the volumes are inscribed 'Ms,' 'Ms 1' and 'Ms 3' on their spines, in the same contemporary hand. The six volumes are as follows:

1. U.6.13: spiritual commonplace book 1
2. U.7.15: spiritual commonplace book 2
3. U.7.16: *De fide, spe, et charitate juxta*
4. U.7.17: *Tractatus de justitia et Jura*
5. U.8.1–2: A glossary, in two volumes

Moreover, the works fall into three natural groups: two commonplace books or personal notebooks (U.6.13, U.7.15); two beautifully written manuscript copies of existing works, perhaps copied whilst visiting another library (U.7.16–17); and a glossary or index of works read, in two volumes (U.8.1–2).

35 HCL U.6.10; Hb 506, 836, 984 and HCL U.4.12; Hb 221, 875.

Of the first group, there is a distinct variety of commonplace book in the Cwm library. Normally a collection of extracts from pertinent readings, notes, or important points, copied into an appropriately sized notebook for ease of reference, commonplace books 1 and 2 [hereafter CP 1 and 2] are a spiritual version of the genre, with a particularly Ignatian focus.³⁶ Both books record spiritual journeys undertaken through readings, prayer and meditations, and both authors appear to have read similar works in a similar order, suggesting perhaps an element of supervision or guidance. Although very little trace remains of the identity of either author, if indeed it was ever intended to be revealed, CP 1 does contain a brief statement of promise to the Society, by one “MN,” but the statement is in a different hand, and appears to have been copied from an existing *pro forma*: in this context, ‘MN’ may just indicate where the scribe was to fill in his name.

CP 2 contains no personal information or identification of any description, but is constructed in the same way as CP 1: both contain extracts from some 50 or so readings, each accompanied by differently numbered meditations or reflections, and each noted in a list of contents at the front of the volume (CP 1) or at the back of the volume (CP 2). Interestingly, CP 1 also includes a manuscript copy of Loyola’s *Spiritual Exercises*, which is not listed in the contents at the beginning of the volume, and is not numbered or referenced, unlike the other pages in the volume. It is followed by a list of short paragraphs, one for each day of eight days in total, interspersed with brief ‘*lectio*’ paragraphs that often include references to other works, indicative of an individual’s personal journey through the eight days of the *Exercises*. One other noticeable key difference is a hint of the intended audiences: CP 1 includes catch words at the bottom of every page, even the apparently more private journey through the *Exercises*, suggesting it was compiled with the intention of communal reading and text engagement.³⁷

This is a particularly interesting twist on the typical commonplace book, which is, in essence, an inherently personal compilation. This, coupled with

36 A more traditional commonplace book or notebook also survives at Hereford Cathedral (U.6.14), with a more scholarly focus than its spiritual counterparts. Although the subject matter within the volume is indicative of a Jesuit education system, the volume also contains a note on f. 97 “...and so to this present year 1684,” making it unlikely that the volume was part of the Cwm library.

37 See Hannah Thomas, ‘*Spiritual Exercises* and spiritual exercises: ascetic intellectual exchange between the Jesuit English Province and the exiled English Catholic community,’ in James E. Kelly and Hannah Thomas (eds), *Jesuit Intellectual and Physical Exchange Between England and Mainland Europe: The World is Our House?* (Brill: [forthcoming, expected 2017]).

the description of a personal spiritual journey that seems to have been recorded for the benefit of others, suggests that this may be a Jesuit version of the subgenre recently proposed by Van Hyning as 'subsumed autobiography,' namely texts in which an anonymous author, through the very vehicle of anonymity, shapes a text around their own experiences, politics, theology or ideology to such a degree that the text can be read as an expression and exploration of the author's selfhood.³⁸ Van Hyning places the subgenre as a more subtle example of traditional self-writing within the convent environment, such as the conversion narrative or *vidas por mandato* genre, and it is this anonymous recalling of a personal experience for communal benefit that has perhaps made its way into seventeenth-century Jesuit spiritual writing.³⁹

Two of the other handwritten volumes are manuscript copies of existing works: U.7.16 is entitled *De fide, spe, et charitate juxta 2 am 2ae D. Thomae*, and is possibly a transcription of Domingo Banez *De fide, spe, et charitate, catholico regi Philippo II...scholastica commentaria in secundam secundae angelici doctoris partem, quae ad quaestionem quadragessimam sextam protenduntur, dicata* (Lyon: Stephen Michael, 1588). Similarly U.7.17, entitled *Tractatus de justitia et Jura*, is possibly a copy of Phillipus Bertrand, *Tractates tres de justitia et jure ad supplementum Theologiae Moralis Christianae* (Lyon: Gerardi Grison, 1684).⁴⁰ The copying of rare or obscure texts that were relevant to Jesuit missionaries was not unique to the Cwm, and in fact, may have been a standard method of ensuring that appropriate reading material was made available.⁴¹

38 Victoria Van Hyning, 'Expressing selfhood in the convent: anonymous chronicling and subsumed autobiography,' *Recusant History*, 32 (2014), pp. 219–234, at 221–222. I am grateful to Dr Van Hyning for sharing with me a pre-publication draft of this article, and for discussing her work with me.

39 Fr Thomas McCoog, SJ, has advised that he knows of no other manuscript accounts of the *Exercises* that survive from this period, and that these volumes are very rare survivors in Jesuit bibliography. I am grateful to Fr McCoog for his advice on these volumes. Alison Weber defines the *vidas por mandato* genre as 'lives written by mandate...in response to [a] confessor's command [that a nun] expose the inner recesses of her spiritual life...in order to seek out subtler examples of self-presentation': see 'The Three Lives of the *Vida*: the Uses of Convent Autobiography,' in *Women, Texts and Authority in the Early Modern Spanish World*, edited by Marta Vincente and Luis Corteguera (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 107, as cited by Van Hyning, p. 219 and footnote no. 1, p. 232.

40 Both works listed on Copac and Universal Short Title Catalogue [USTC] – no edition of Bertrand's work printed earlier than 1684 has been found.

41 Walsham notes, for example, that the use of 'scribal publication' or manuscript copies of existing works in order to further their dissemination was a vital part of English Counter-Reformation book culture: see *Catholic Reformation*, p. 247.

Some eight similar works are listed in the Holbeck collection, none of which seem to have survived.⁴²

The remaining two manuscript volumes, U.8.1–2, are a manuscript glossary or index: volume 1 lists items from *Abnegatio* to *Fuga* (U.8.1) and volume 2 lists items from *Genus* to *Zelus animarum*, followed by a page entitled *Poenitentia* (U.8.2). Most pages in both volumes are blank, or only contain a title, and others show entries made in more than one hand, suggesting the book was available for editing by the community as a whole. Both volumes are made of roughly cut sheets, and were perhaps created ‘in house’ from scraps, and offcuts and spare leaves of parchment: volume 1 also includes a blank ruling guide for the addition of new material. Both volumes are very much works in progress, and were perhaps a relatively recent project prior to the seizure and removal of the library in December 1678.

Conclusions

A more detailed examination of the subjects of the surviving Cwm Library books at Hereford Cathedral has revealed interesting new dimensions of the literary requirements of the Jesuits in Wales in the seventeenth century, and reveals the importance of books to the successes of Jesuit missionary endeavour more broadly, as well as how this was adapted to the unique circumstances of the English Province. Both surviving libraries have key shared characteristics, such as topics and subject areas. Analysis of the Cwm library, and a comparison with the Holbeck library, demonstrates the twin focuses of the Jesuits working in the English Province: polemic and asceticism. An up-to-date knowledge of the issues and controversy surrounding many areas of key theological debate that divided and, in many ways, defined the various religious denominations battling for English and Welsh souls, sat side by side with an inherently Ignatian spirituality. As well as providing a place for the reading and discussion of polemic or controversial material, it seems the books themselves also offered a safe space within which to express personal feelings on the topics at hand, such as the above-quoted comment on frequenting Protestant churches.

Books, and continued access to the ideas and perspectives contained within them, were an essential tool in the Counter-Reformation Catholic armoury.

42 Hb 991–998. The listed manuscript volumes are quite eclectic, and include histories, canon law, hagiography, poetry and a treatise on sacramental confession. Their position in the catalogue suggests that, collectively, they formed a discrete group, and were shelved separately from the other items in the library.

As well as allowing the clandestine Catholic community of the British Isles to remain connected with the thoughts and practices of their European counterparts, books could also fulfil a vital role, and allow personal spiritual development to continue, even in the absence of regular visits from the handful of clerics working in the English Province. Spiritual reading could become a form of prayer or meditation upon the works of God; the copying out of such works had both practical and devotional benefits for the Jesuits themselves, and for the community to whom they ministered.⁴³ The evidence presented by the surviving volumes of the Cwm library suggests that this was a thriving feature of post-Reformation Catholic life in England and Wales for much of the penal period.

43 Walsham, *Catholic Reformation*, pp. 264–282.

Luis De Granada's Mission to Protestant England: Translating the Devotional Literature of the Spanish Counter-Reformation

Alexandra Walsham

The famous Spanish Dominican friar Luis de Granada never actually set foot on the shores of England. Born to poor parents in 1504 and brought up by his widowed mother who scratched together a living as a laundress, he entered the priory of the Holy Cross in Granada in 1524 and took his vows of profession a year later. A man of austere life drawn to the rigours of ascetic discipline, he devoted himself to study and was sent to St Gregory's College in Valladolid for further education. Inspired by evangelical zeal he sought and was given permission to join the ranks of Dominican missionaries in Mexico. But before his departure for the New World, the Provincial of Andalusia decided to redeploy him to restore the religious vitality of the Order's house of Santa Domingo de Escalaceli in the mountains near Cordoba instead. In this remote setting, Luis spent long hours in solitude and meditation, perfecting the strand of interior piety for which his many devotional writings subsequently made him famous. Eager to intensify the faith of the laity, he also disseminated it in the vicinity of the monastery by preaching and news of his talent and eloquence soon spread. Elected prior of Badajoz in 1549, at the request of the Cardinal-Infante, Dom Henrique (1512–1580, reigned 1578–1580), son of King Manuel (1495–1521), he moved to Portugal and became Provincial of the Dominicans in 1557. He was appointed confessor and counsellor to the Queen regent Catalina and became a key figure in the Portuguese court, though he refused successive offers of episcopal sees and declined a cardinalate from Pope Sixtus V (1585–1590). A towering figure in the Iberian Catholic world, he died in Lisbon on the last day of December 1588. The final months of his life must have been overshadowed by the defeat of the Spanish Armada and the thwarting of Philip II's "messianic vision" to invade and reconvert the heretical kingdom of England and absorb it into the sprawling Habsburg empire.¹

1 Some useful studies include R.L. Oechslin, *Louis of Granada* (London: Aquin Press, 1954); John A. Moore, *Fray Luis de Granada* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977), Alvaro Huerga, *Fray Luis de Granada: Una vida al servicio de la Iglesia* (Madrid: Católica, 1988). Geoffrey Parker,

But if Luis de Granada never physically ventured beyond Spain and Portugal, he nevertheless became an internationally renowned writer, whose spiritual works were translated into multiple European languages, including Italian, Latin, French, German, Greek, and Polish. In England, his books were nothing less than bestsellers: numerous clandestine Catholic editions were imported across the Channel from the Low Countries, while other versions produced by London-based publishers and booksellers circulated unhindered within the Protestant mainstream. The volume of copies of the latter may even have exceeded the former.² Catholic and Protestant translators alike lauded Luis de Granada as a “learned and reverend,” “famouse and renowned,” “rare and matchless divine”; as “a spirituall captain” supremely skilled in conducting his readers to “the Celestial Canaan” and in piercing the hearts of sinners; and as “the very flower” of devotional writers of his age and generation.³ They spoke in superlative tones of “the honnyed sweetnes of his celestiaall ayre” and declared that he discoursed so sublimely “that some heavenly Cherubim or Seraphin, seemeth rather to speake by his mouth, then a mortall man.”⁴ The aim of their own endeavours was to make this Spanish angel intelligible to English readers in their own tongue.

This essay explores the transmission, adaptation and domestication of Luis de Granada in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. It approaches translation as a vital arm of the parallel programmes of evangelical conversion and moral renewal that comprised the Reformations and as a species of religious ventriloquism by and through which ministers and laypeople acquired a voice and gave expression to their own priorities, passions and preoccupations.

‘The place of Tudor England in the messianic vision of Philip II of Spain,’ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 12 (2002), pp. 167–221.

- 2 For English translations of Luis de Granada’s various works, see STC 16899.3-16922a.7.; Wing L3471C-E. A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640*, vol. 11 *Works in English* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), 270, 345–348.5, 426, 439–445. For an older study of Granada’s works in English, see Maria Hagedorn, *Reformation und Spanische andachtsliteratur: Luis de Granada in England* (Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1934).
- 3 Luis de Granada, *Granados spiritual and heavenlie exercises*, trans. Frances Meres (London: 1598), title page; *Granados devotion. Exactly teaching how a man may truly dedicate and devote himselfe unto God: and so become his acceptable votary...now perused, and englished*, trans. Francis Meres (London: 1598), sigs A4r, 5v.
- 4 Luis de Granada, *The sinners guyde. A worke contayning the whole regiment of a Christian life divided into two bookes*, trans. Francis Meres (London, 1598), sig. A2v; *A treatise of the love of God, wherein consisteth the perfection of the Christian life*, in *Six spiritual books ful of marvelous pietie and devotion*, comp. and trans. John Heigham ([Douai]: 2nd edn, 1611), p. 204.

It sees translation as an exercise in exegesis, interpretation and religious agency. Setting aside anachronistic assumptions that polarise originals and derivatives and regard translation as a lesser form of authorship, it regards these textual products as a compelling emblem of a series of complex linguistic, cultural and religious transactions whose significance is still under-investigated.⁵ The peregrinations of Luis de Granada's works in England attest to areas of ambiguity, fluidity and overlap that belie the rigid confessional divides erected by later scholars and highlight some neglected features of the pluralism of post-Reformation English society. They illuminate the entangled character of the processes of Catholic renewal in contexts of dominance and persecution and the internationalism of the British Counter-Reformation and its book trade. And they draw attention to reciprocal interchanges across national borders that temper the assumptions about mutual hostility and antagonism that are a lasting legacy of the rival black legends forged in the wake of the fracturing of sixteenth-century Christendom. By probing the seeming paradox of Luis de Granada's appeal to both Catholic and Protestant readers in a context in which anti-popery and hispanophobia were apparently rife, I hope to extend our understanding of 'subversive publishing' and the creative and unexpected side-effects of censorship and repression.

Luis de Granada in Catholic Iberia

First, it is necessary to sketch briefly the religious climate and environment from which Luis de Granada and his oeuvre of writings emerged. Early sixteenth-century Andalusia was a multiconfessional society in which Christians coexisted with Muslims and Jews, but it was also a society in which

5 On translation, see, among other contributions, Susan Bassnett, 'When is a translation not a translation?', in eadem and André Lefevre (eds.), *Constructing cultures: essays on literary translation* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998), pp. 25–40; Peter France (ed.), *The Oxford guide to literature in English translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Peter Burke, 'Cultures of translation in early modern Europe,' in Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural translation in early modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 7–38; S.K. Barker and Brenda Hosington (eds.), *Renaissance cultural crossroads: translation, print and culture in Britain, 1473–1640* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013); José Maria Fernández and Edward Wilson-Lee (eds.), *Translation and the book trade in early modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); the recent special issue on 'Translation and print culture in early modern Europe,' *Renaissance Studies*, 29 (2015), esp. Brenda Hosington, 'Introduction,' pp. 5–18; and A.E.B. Coldiron, *Printers without borders: translation and textual-ity in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), esp. Ch. 1.

(in the wake of the conquest of Granada in 1492) centuries of *convivencia* were very gradually giving way to greater Catholic intolerance. The world out of which Luis de Granada emerged was one in which several different currents of religious sentiment swirled and sometimes imperfectly converged: an observant monastic movement that revitalised the mendicant and other orders and found expression in the writings of Garcia de Cisneros (1455–1510) and Francisco de Osuna (ca. 1492–ca.1540); an impulse for diocesan and clerical reform that inspired efforts to evangelise the rural poor; an intense interest in the Christian humanism of Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), whose orthodoxy was discussed at an inconclusive conference in Valladolid in 1527; a commitment to avant-garde biblical scholarship that yielded the Complutensian Polyglot; a sense of affinity with the style of piety associated with the Flemish *devotio moderna* and Thomas Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*; and an indigenous tradition of mysticism whose practitioners engaged in deep contemplation and aspired to surrender themselves to spiritual union with God. Known as *alumbrados* or illuminists, in the mid 1520s this group and a wider penumbra of reputed sympathisers came under the suspicion of the Inquisition, an institution which gained a new *raison d'être* against the backdrop of the infiltration of Lutheran ideas into the peninsula through the medium of imported print carried by merchant ships.⁶

There is no space here to engage in the long-running debate about the role which the Inquisition played in the failure of the Reformation to germinate in the soil of Spain, but suffice it to say that in these decades fear of Protestantism

6 For some helpful overviews of Iberia in this period, see A. Gordon Kinder, 'Spain,' in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The early Reformation in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 215–237; Henry Kamen, 'Spain,' in Bob Scribner, Roy Porter, and Mikulás Teich (eds.), *The Reformation in national context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 202–214; David Coleman, 'Spain,' in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation world* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 296–305. A key study is Alastair Hamilton, *Heresy and mysticism in sixteenth-century Spain: The Alumbrados* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). On the Inquisition, see Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and society in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985); William Monter, *Frontiers of heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: a global history, 1478–1834*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), esp. pp. 221–225, 230–249. There is a large literature on the Iberian mystical tradition, including E. Allison Peers, *Studies of the Spanish mystics*, vol. 2 (London: SPCK, 1960). See now esp. Hilarie Kallendorf (ed.), *A new companion to Hispanic mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); for the context for Luis de Granada's later career, see esp. José Adriano de Freitas Carvalho, 'Traditions, Life Experiences and Orientations in Portuguese Mysticism (1515–1630),' pp. 39–68.

coalesced uneasily with anxiety about illuminism and the Erasmianism of humanists such as Juan de Valdes in much the same way as worries about lollardy and evangelicalism fused in early Henrician England. One consequence was a concerted drive against conventicles of Protestants in Seville and Valladolid in 1559, which led to a series of celebrated *auto da fés*; another was the issue of a Spanish index of prohibited books in the same year.⁷ It is indicative of the blurred and porous boundaries that pertained between heresy and orthodoxy in this period that this list incorporated not merely the works of convicted heresiarchs but also those of leading spiritual writers in the vernacular such as Juan de Avila (1500–1569), the so-called “Apostle of Andalusia,” and of his close friend, disciple and “spiritual twin” (*alma gemela*) Luis de Granada.⁸ Two of Granada's books, the *Libro de la oracion y meditacion* [the book of prayer and meditation] (1554) and the *Guia de pecadores* [the sinner's guide] (1556–7) were placed on the Index. What made these texts suspicious in the eyes of an Inquisition highly sensitised to any whiff of illuminism and Lutheranism was the implicit threat presented by the highly interiorised piety that Luis's books were a guide to cultivating – a piety of intense religious recollection or meditation that was less about talking than listening to the stirrings of God in the heart and the soul and which could be pursued not just by professed religious in convents and monasteries but also by laypeople in the privacy of their chambers and closets at home. His work was censured by the Grand Inquisitor Fernando de Valdes (1483–1568) and by Melchior Cano (ca. 1509–1560) for recommending contemplative spirituality to “carpenters' wives” and for dangerously suggesting that “a way of perfection” appropriate only for a tiny religious elite was suitable for men and women who occupied “all states of life.”⁹ Not least in its tendency to elevate the value of mental above vocal prayer, it was a spirituality

7 On the Spanish Protestant movement, see Jaime Contreras, ‘The impact of Protestantism in Spain 1520–1600,’ in Stephen Haliczzer (ed.), *Inquisition and society in early modern Europe* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 47–63; A. Gordon Kinder, ‘Protestantism in sixteenth-century Spain: doctrines and practices as confessed to inquisitors,’ *Mediterranean Studies*, 4 (1994), pp. 73–80; idem, ‘Spain's little-known “noble army of martyrs” and the Black Legend,’ in Lesley K. Twomey (ed.), *Faith and fanaticism: religious fervour in early modern Spain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 61–83.

8 On Juan de Avila, see Allison Peers, *Studies of the Spanish mystics*, II, 99–100; Hamilton, *Heresy and mysticism*, pp. 97–101, 107. See also John Edwards and Ronald Truman (eds.), *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 9.

9 Moore, Fray Luis de Granada, pp. 33–34; Oechslein, *Louis de Granada*, pp. 29–30. On Cano, see Terence O'Reilly, ‘Melchior Cano and the spirituality of St Ignatius Loyola,’ in idem, *From Ignatius Loyola to John of the Cross: spirituality and literature in sixteenth-century Spain* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), pp. 369–380, at 373.

that seemed to undermine formal worship and liturgy and which could all too easily break out of ecclesiastical control. Luis de Granada's critics also detected within it ideas that "savoured" somewhat of the heresy of the illuminati.¹⁰ They found traces of something that veered dangerously close to the reef of Protestantism: in particular the emphasis he placed on redemption by God's grace, his tendency to use the terms sanctification and justification interchangeably, his striking lack of interest in purgatory and his suggestive discussion of the predestination of believers from eternity to salvation.¹¹

Luis de Granada's response to these allegations and censures was to edit, modify and rewrite his books to eliminate their perceived dubious elements, to balance his emphasis on interior prayer with encouragement towards virtuous behaviour and ascetic works (this was also a major theme of his *Memorial de la vida Cristiana*, or *Memorial of a Christian life*, 1565); to urge caution and scepticism about the meaning of mystical visions, revelations and raptures; to steer people away from descending into the heterodox mysticism of the *alumbrados*; and to distance himself more explicitly from Protestant doctrines.¹² In revised form, his works not only ceased to be troubled but received the imprimatur of the papacy itself. But they were not entirely free of the taint of heterodoxy and scandal: Alonso de la Fuente cited *Of prayer and meditation* as one of the sources of the heresy of a colony of *alumbrados* in Llerena he discovered and denounced in 1576.¹³ Towards the end of his career, Luis's enthusiastic endorsement of the sanctity of the Dominican stigmatic and visionary Maria of the Visitation (1485–1524) came back to haunt him, when, following an investigation, she confessed to having faked her miracles, levitations and ecstasies. His printed and manuscript accounts of her holy life had done much to make the 'nun of Lisbon' a Portuguese celebrity in the mid 1580s, when the young Luisa de Carvajal (1568–1614) – the intensely devout daughter of a Spanish nobleman who yearned to be martyred for her faith and later became a leading figure in the Catholic underground in London – wrote to him requesting he pass on to her a letter.¹⁴ The sermon Luis subsequently wrote about this case of holy fraud to rehabilitate his tarnished reputation transformed her into

10 Quoted in Oechslin, *Louis of Granada*, p. 30.

11 See the discussion of the *Guia de pecadores*, in Moore, *Fray Luis de Granada*, Ch. 3, esp. p. 46.

12 See Terence O'Reilly, 'Meditation and contemplation: monastic spirituality in early sixteenth-century Spain,' in Twomey (ed.), *Faith and fanaticism*, pp. 37–57, at 47–52.

13 Oechslin, *Louis de Granada*, p. 31 and pp. 47–49 on the changes made in the revised editions; Moore, *Fray Luis de Granada*, p. 34, and see pp. 82–89.

14 Glyn Redworth, *The she-apostle: the extraordinary life and death of Luisa de Carvajal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 79–80.

an edifying symbol of the intense spirituality which he sought throughout his life and his many publications to nurture.¹⁵ The “learned and godly” Luis de Granada was thus a far more complicated figure than his many European admirers and translators believed him to be.

Luis de Granada and the English Catholic Reformation

With this backdrop in place, it is time to examine the various Catholic translations of Luis de Granada's writings which were published in English in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The first of these, a translation of Part I of *Of prayer and meditation*, was printed in Paris in 1582. This was the work of Richard Hopkins (1546–1594), a former member of the Middle Temple in London who went into exile in Louvain in the mid 1560s, where he formed a close association with the polemicist Thomas Harding (1516–1572) and became a leading member of the émigré community in Flanders, working as the agent of Cardinal William Allen (1532–1594) in his negotiations for foreign intervention to restore his native country to the Roman fold.¹⁶ Dedicated to the lawyers of the four Inns of Court, the preface to the book was imbued with an intense belief in the imminence of the arrival of Antichrist and the final apocalypse. It read the temptations and persecutions to which the faithful were subject and the “horrible sects and heresies” that abounded in all parts of Christendom (among which Hopkins singled out the “counterfaite pure gossellers” called “puritans”) as evidence of Satan's envy and malice in the last days of the world. In a context in which the devil's ‘wylie deceitefull devises’ had filled many with doubt and made them dissolute, there was “verie greate neede of extraordinarie spirituall helpes” to strengthen the wavering and weak. The translations he presented reflected the conviction he shared with Harding that “more spirituall profite wolde undoubtedlie ensewe thereby to the gayninge of Christian sowles in our countrie from Schisme, and Heresie, and from all

15 See Oechslin, *Louis de Granada*, pp. 33–34; Huerga, *Fray Luis de Granada*, Ch. 12; Stephen Haliczzer, *Between exaltation and infamy: female mystics in the Golden Age of Spain* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 22, 54, 58, 133–134; Freddy Domínguez, ‘From saint to sinner: sixteenth-century perceptions of “La Monja de Lisboa,”’ in Kallendorf (ed.), *New companion to Hispanic mysticism*, pp. 297–320.

16 Luis de Granada, *Of prayer, and meditation. Wherein are conteined fowertien devoute meditations for the seven daies of the weeke*, trans. Richard Hopkins (Paris, 1582). There were also editions printed in Rouen in 1584 and Douai in 1612. G. Martin Murphy, ‘Hopkins, Richard,’ *ODNB* (Oxford: 2004), [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13752>, accessed 15 Feb 2015].

sinne and iniquitie, than by books that treate of controversies in Religion.”¹⁷ The austere lessons taught by the Spanish Dominican had particular relevance and resonance in a land infected with schism, heresy, and iniquity. He also saw fit to include the prologue Antonio de Cordova and Lorenzo de Figueroa (1559–1607) together with the exhortation appended to the first Spanish edition by Bernard de Fresneda (1495–1577), the bishop of Cuenca and privy councillor to Philip II, which recommended the text as filled with “good and wholesome foodde” and “sweete and savorie honie combes.”¹⁸ Hopkins thus allowed English readers to eavesdrop on an address made to their fellow Catholics living in the Habsburg kingdom. By following the regimen of daily meditations in the morning and evening laid out in Luis’s book they became united within them in a prayer community that was neither confined within national boundaries nor restricted to priests and religious persons. While the laity were not bound by vows to undertake this exercise, the perils of the world in which they lived necessitated employing prayer, together with fasting, silence, devout reading, and regular sacramental observance, as ‘spirituall weapons’ and safeguards against infidelity and sin.¹⁹

Illustrated with a series of fine engravings of heaven and hell, Christ’s passion, the seven sacraments and other scenes, this was a book designed to help people lift their eyes above their earthly tribulations and dwell on the mysteries of the faith and the majesty of God. Entitled “Of the miseries of this lyfe,” one of these images graphically depicted the text of Job 14.1 (*Homo natus de muliere, brevi vivens tempore, repletur multis misaeras*: “Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble”) and showed a child being chased by a mother bearing a birch, beggars and cripples seeking alms at a door, and a family crowded around the deathbed of a relative, together with people drowning at sea, leaping out of burning buildings, and fighting and killing each other with swords. In the background, as a reminder of the dangers of professing the Catholic faith in Protestant England, are two gallows from which are hanging six lifeless figures. Hopkins sought to comfort readers with the thought that their sufferings in this world were nothing compared to the glory of the kingdom that awaited them in heaven (Figure 9.1).²⁰ The title-page

17 Luis de Granada, *Of prayer, and meditation*, sigs a2r–b2v.

18 *Ibid.*, sigs b3v–8r, at b7v. He added in the margin that Don Antonio de Cordova and Father Lorenzo de Figueroa were members of ancient houses in Spain “whiche have forsaken all their worldlie possessions, and entred into religion” (fos 1r–3r).

19 *Ibid.*, fo. 27v.

20 *Ibid.*, fo. 153v.

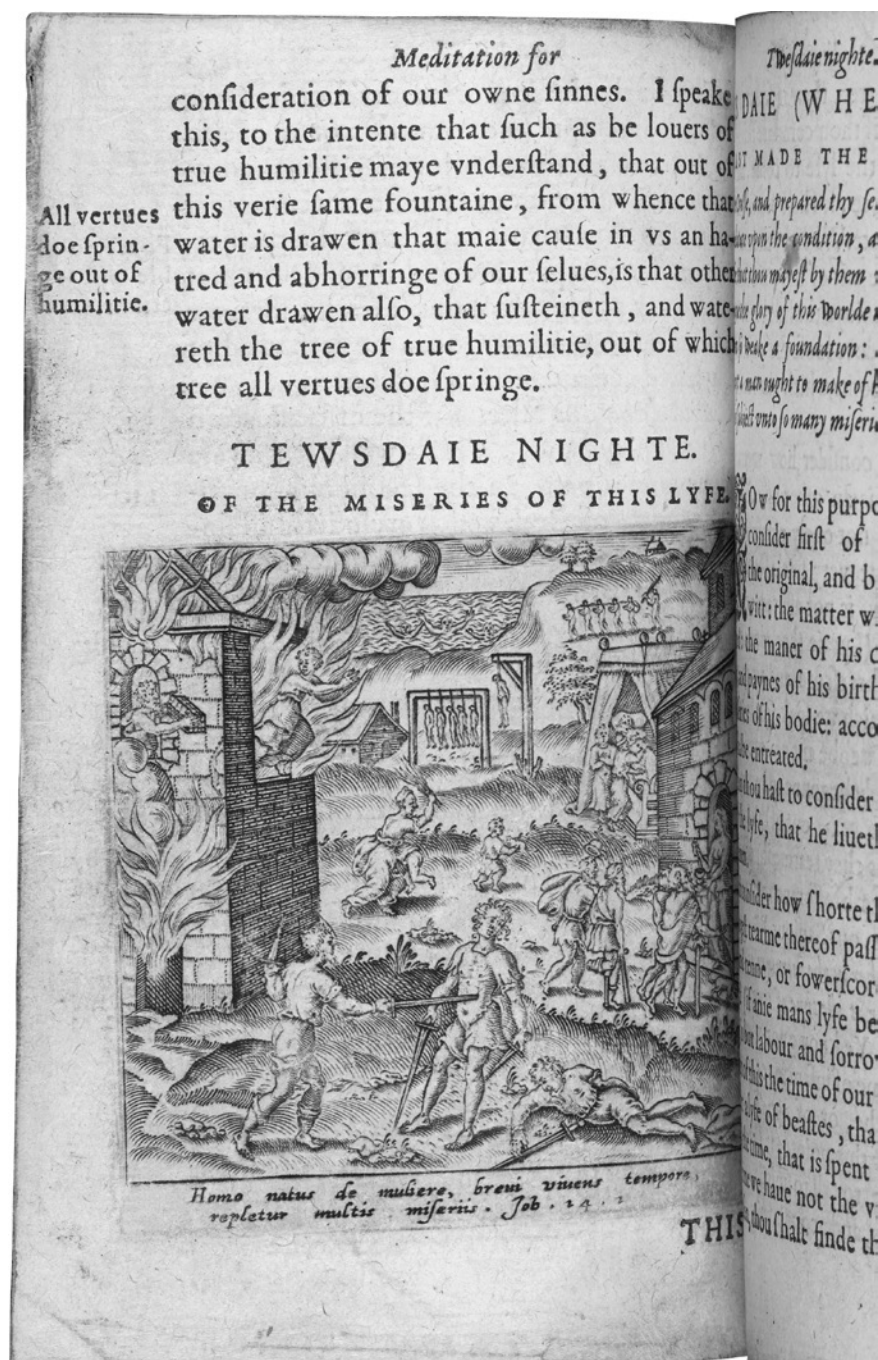


FIGURE 9.1 "Of the miseries of this life": Luis de Granada, *Of prayer, and meditation*. Wherein are contained fowertien deuoute meditations for the seven daies of the weeke, trans. Richard Hopkins, Paris: 1582, fo. 153v.

of his book incorporated a picture that collapsed the distinction between the past and the present by depicting monks, nuns and laymen and women dressed in sixteenth-century attire literally taking up their crosses and following Christ (Figure 9.2).²¹ Paradoxically, the powerful validation of mental above verbal prayer which had rendered the original version of Luis de Granada's *Libro* suspect in the eyes of the Spanish Inquisition made it extremely well suited to the circumstances in which Catholics found themselves in Protestant England, where opportunities to attend formal worship were often limited and where one's vocal utterances could be incriminating. In a situation in which people had only occasional access to priestly counsel, the kind of silent reading it promoted as a pious act helped recusants and church papists to keep their personal faith alive and thereby protect the Catholic church from annihilation by the Elizabethan regime.²²

Hopkins' edition of the *Memoriall of a Christian life* appeared four years later in 1586, this time published by a press in Rouen. Framed for the unlearned as well as the learned, it was set forth with a similar purpose. Hopkins took the opportunity to lambaste "the late Apostatas, *Luther*; *Zwinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Calvin*, *Beza* and other their schollers" for their failure to follow "the same Godlie order of proceeding in their maner of preaching Reformation". Coming closer to home, he declared that the right way to reform was not by force of arms, terror, penal laws, confiscations and executions, but rather through encouraging people to lead penitential lives. The licentious doctrine of sola scriptura in fact did the reverse: it bred an arrogant presumption of security and, along with abolition of sacramental confession, led to moral abuse, crime and disorder. It was precisely because penance was of "inestimable profit for the Salvation of our soules" that Satan (in the guise of the Protestant reformers) had endeavoured to abolish it.²³ Composed as a manual for nurturing Christian virtue and inculcating moral doctrine, "which manner of teaching is not used in pulpittes," Luis de Granada saw it as a textual extension of his vocation as a preacher. And his insistence in the prologue that "devout Catholique bookes" "be unto us as it were domme preachers" must once again have had particular resonance in a context in which seminary-trained clergy were relatively few

21 *Ibid.*, title-page.

22 See *ibid.*, esp. 'Of readinge,' fos 283v–4v.

23 Luis de Granada, *A memorial of a Christian life. Wherein are treated all such thinges, as appertayne unto a Christian to doe, from the beginninge of his conversion, until the end of his perfection* (Rouen: 1586), dedicatory epistle, pp. 3–24, quotations at pp. 5, 23. Another edition appeared under a false imprint (Rouen: G. Loyselet) in 1599 but was actually printed in London, perhaps by Valentine Simmes, on which see below.

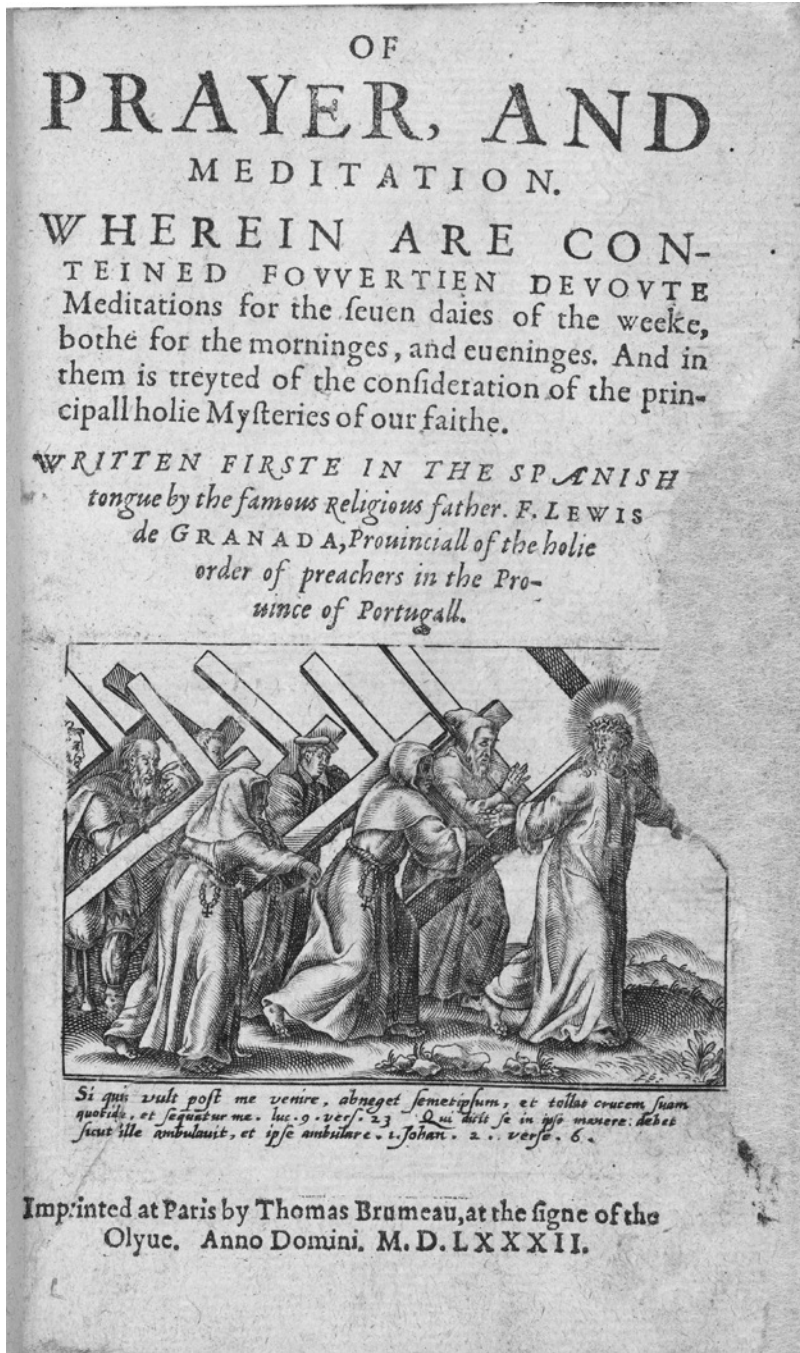


FIGURE 9.2 *Taking up the cross of Christ: Luis de Granada, Of prayer, and meditation. Wherein are contained fowertien devoute meditations for the seven daies of the weeke, trans. Richard Hopkins, Paris: 1582 title-page.*

and far between, and in which their very presence had been defined in 1585 as an act of treason.²⁴

Significantly, Hopkins also augmented his translation of the *Memoriall* with extra material tailored to the difficult situation, surrounded by “pestilent heresies,” in which its intended readers now found themselves. Assisted by various unnamed wise and “learned divines,” these extensive interpolations not only explained in more detail and vigorously (and sometimes belligerently) defended the disputed theology of confession and satisfaction ‘wickedly’ rejected by Protestant ministers, but also addressed diverse cases of consciences. These ranged from the legitimacy of taking oaths, the appointment of godparents, payment of tithes, hearing mass, participation in the services of the Church of England, marrying heretics and the reading of Protestant books to the observance of holy days, hunting, witchcraft, and the “abominable drunken Custom,” imported from Germany and “practised nowe in manie places of England,” of carousing, and drinking “unmeasurablie one to another.”²⁵ They provide a fascinating window into the difficulty of observing Tridentine directives in a context of persecution, the ideological and ethical dilemmas the laity experienced and the nicodemite strategies to which they were obliged to resort to survive in a hostile environment. They subtly transformed Luis de Granada’s text into a work of controversy and casuistry as well as one of devotional instruction. They made this ostensibly apolitical guide to piety a manifesto for resistance and turned it into a kind of Trojan horse. The distinction between Luis de Granada’s text and Hopkins’ additions was signalled by the size of the font in which they were printed and in a later edition by the insertion of commas or quotation marks in the margins, though these typographical devices could easily be overlooked by a careless or hasty reader.²⁶ Like the discreet and tidy seams of a fabric garment, they provide evidence of the process by which the English and Spanish voices in the *Memoriall* were stitched and fused together to make a new and curious hybrid creature.

After Hopkins’ death around 1596, the *Memoriall* and *Of prayer and meditation* were republished by the Catholic merchant and bookseller John Heigham (ca.1568–ca.1634), who had left London in 1603 after a period of imprisonment

24 *Ibid.*, p. 12 (sig. A6v). See also my ‘Domme preachers? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the culture of print,’ *Past and Present*, 168 (2000), pp. 72–123.

25 Luis de Granada, *Memoriall*, pp. 23–24. For these specific additions, see pp. 212–213 (hearing mass), 221–226 (witchcraft), 227–228 (reading heretical books), 228–233 (attendance at Protestant services), 232–233 (marrying heretics), 234–235 (oaths), 239 (holy days), 242–243 (godparents), 249–250 (hunting), 251–252 (tithes), 262 (gluttony).

26 As noted, *ibid.*, on p. 23. For the ‘certayne commaes’ used in the 1625 edition, see p. 31.

in the Gatehouse and Bridewell and settled first in Douai and later in St Omer, where he resided until at least 1632, entering into partnership with several local printers and collaborating closely with those in charge of the press housed in the Jesuit college in the town. The most prolific independent publisher of Catholic books in the early seventeenth century, he specialised in semi-liturgical texts such as the Tridentine primer, manual, breviary and Jesus psalters and in translations of spiritual classics by continental divines such as Francis de Sales (1567–1622), Peter Canisius (1521–1597) and Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621). He also self-published an exposition of the Mass written in 1622 and *The gagge of the reformed Gospell* (1632), to which Richard Montague (1577–1641) replied in his notorious *New gagg for an old goose* (1624). Assisted by his Dutch wife, whom he regularly sent across the Channel with a cargo of books, Heigham was also a central figure in the illicit trade in smuggling Catholic literature into Protestant England.²⁷ Luis de Granada found a natural home in his publishing list and in 1611 Heigham edited and incorporated Hopkins' unpublished translation of the second part of the *Memoriall* in an omnibus volume of *Six spiritual books*, under the title *A treatise of the love of God*. Reflecting his determination to serve Catholics both at home and abroad, he dedicated its two sections to Mary Gough (1577–1613), abbess of the Poor Clares at Graveling, and to a Catholic knight identified only as Sir H.I, whom he praised because he “hath so liberally succoured such a number of distressed and afflicted” members of the Church of Rome.²⁸

Hopkins and Heigham underline the key part which lay authors, compilers and translators played in mediating Tridentine Catholicism and the European Counter-Reformation to their coreligionists in England – in mediating the products of a movement that placed renewed emphasis on the clergy as conduits of sacramental grace and catechetical instruction and in mediating Spanish texts which the Inquisition itself worried might encourage a bypassing of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and bring into being a *de facto* priesthood of all believers. Hopkins himself craved pardon for “passinge here somewhat the bowndes of my profession, and treating as a divine of spirituall matters” but prayed that his “continewall conversation” with learned priests during the last

27 A.F. Allison, ‘John Heigham of S. Omer (ca. 1568–ca.1632),’ *Recusant History*, 4 (1957–8), pp. 226–242. Paul Arblaster, ‘Heigham, John,’ *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12868, accessed 15 Feb 2015]. Heigham's 1612 edition of *Of prayer, and meditation* is STC 16908.5; his 1612 and 1625 editions of *Memoriall of Christian life* are STC 16905–6. Two further editions of the *Memorial* appeared in 1688 and 1699: their provenance is unclear, but the latter appears to be Catholic.

28 *A treatise of the love of God*, dedication to the second part, sig. Q2v, p. 364 (sic).

fifteen years, as well as the imperatives of the time, would excuse his presumption.²⁹ If, as I have argued elsewhere, English Catholicism's reliance on print proved a double-edged sword by promoting habits of thought that recoiled against the principle that exegesis was a clerical preserve, the exigencies of official persecution also compelled and empowered laymen to step into the shoes of preachers and teachers themselves.³⁰

They also necessitated cooperation between rival religious orders. In the seventeenth century, the Jesuits readily exploited the Dominican Luis de Granada's work to help fuel their own evangelical machine. Richard Gibbons (ca. 1549–1632), who spent most of his life in academic posts in Flanders, Italy, Spain and Portugal, prepared another edition of *Of prayer and meditation* in 1599 under the revised title *A spiritual doctrine, containing a rule to live wel*, which he dedicated to Sir William Stanley (1548–1630), and which remained in print until 1634.³¹ Luis's own conception of devotional texts as 'domme preachers' dovetailed well with Robert Persons' (1546–1610) insistence in 1581 that "there is nothing which helps and has helped and will protect in the future and spread our cause so much as the printing of Catholic books" and with the director of the St Omer press, John Wilson's conviction, articulated in 1616, that "books penetrate where the priests and religious cannot enter and serve as precursors to undeceive many".³²

Such texts were important components of the energetic mission of the written and printed word to which Robert Southwell (1561–1595) and other members of the Society committed themselves before they were captured and martyred, writing in blood another set of edifying legends.³³ Indeed, it is too infrequently noted that Robert Persons' immensely popular and influential *First book of the Christian exercise, appertayning to resolution*, later known as the *Christian directorie* was itself deeply indebted to Luis de Granada's *Guia de pecadores*. As Victor Houlston has shown, Persons' violent protest against

29 Luis de Granada, *Of prayer, and meditation*, sig. b2v.

30 Walsham, 'Domme preachers.'

31 Luis de Granada, *A spiritual doctrine containing a rule to live wel, with divers praiers and meditations*, trans. Richard Gibbons (Louvain: 1599); further edition with various titles appeared from the English College Press in St Omer 1630, 1632 and 1634. See STC 16922–22a.7. Thompson Cooper, 'Gibbons, Richard,' *ODNB* (Oxford: 2004). [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10599>, accessed 15 Feb 2015]

32 Leo Hicks (ed.), *Letters and memorials of Father Robert Persons, SJ*, Catholic Record Society 39 (London: 1942), p. 107; *Calendar of State Papers, Milan*, i, 654.

33 See Nancy Pollard Brown, 'Robert Southwell: the mission of the written word,' in Thomas M. McCoog (ed.), *The reckoned expense: Edmund Campion and the early English Jesuits* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007 ed.), pp. 251–275.

Edmund Bunny's (1540–1619) appropriation of his text as his own disguises the fact that he himself borrowed much of both the structure and sequence of topics he tackled in the *Resolution* from *The sinners guide*.³⁴ However, to echo recent work by John Yamamoto-Wilson, it is unhelpful to speak of either as a form of piracy or plagiarism: this is to interpret the textual practices both employed through the lens of anachronistic notions of authorship and originality that are inconsistent with a culture that applauded and prized the art of imitation.³⁵ What can nevertheless be said is that confessional strife had the side-effect of helping to bring these concepts into being. Persons' own loose 'translation' of Luis de Granada was part of his wider and multifaceted programme for reconverting England by both force and persuasion and for using it as a base to reclaim the whole of northern Europe from the grip of heresy.³⁶

Printed in small formats – octavo, duodecimo and even as a tiny 24mo – Luis de Granada's books were ideally suited to slipping through the net of port and customs officials and being distributed and used in England. Easily concealed in a pocket or the folds of a dress or quickly put out of the sight of spying eyes, they became staple items in the devotional libraries of recusants, as the inventories of books seized by pursuivants reveal. Two copies of *Of Prayer and Meditation*, for instance, were found in a raid on the home of Sir Thomas Tresham (1543–1605) in 1584 and another was discovered in the chamber of Elizabeth and Bridget Brome at Boarstall House in Buckinghamshire two years later.³⁷ Luis de Granada's works were also staple reading in the English convents established

34 Edmund Bunny, *A booke of Christian exercise appertaining to resolution, that is, shewing how that we should resolve our selves to become Christians indeede* (London: 1585). See Brad S. Gregory, 'The "true and zealous service of God": Robert Parsons, Edmund Bunny, and *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise*,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45 (1994), pp. 238–268; Victor Houlston, 'Why Robert Persons would not be pacified: Edmund Bunny's theft of *The Book of Resolution*,' in McCoog (ed.), *Reckoned expense*, pp. 209–232, at 216–218.

35 John R. Yamamoto-Wilson, 'Robert Persons's *Resolution* (1582) and the issue of textual piracy in Protestant editions of Catholic devotional literature,' *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, 15 (2013), pp. 177–198, esp. 185–186. Cf. the account offered in Elizabeth K. Hudson, 'The Catholic challenge to Puritan piety, 1580–1620,' *Catholic Historical Review*, 77 (1991), pp. 1–20. Luis de Granada is treated here on pp. 6–11.

36 Gregory, 'True and zealous service of God,' pp. 242–243.

37 See respectively Kew, The National Archives, State Papers Domestic 12/172, fo. 169 and London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 50, fo. 163. The contents of these inventories are now conveniently listed in R.J. Fehrenbach and Joseph L. Black (eds.), *Private libraries in Renaissance England: A collection and catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists*, vol. VIII PLRE 167–260 (Tempe, Arizona: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2014), see 251.3, 251.6, and 244.8. For foreign editions, see 216.5 and 248.4.2.

in France, the Low Countries and the Iberian peninsula and appeared in the libraries of the Benedictine nuns at Cambrai, the Bridgettines in Lisbon, the Augustinians in Paris, and the Sepulchrines in Liège, among others.³⁸ The widespread circulation of translations of the *Libro* in Protestant England and in its exile communities in Europe mimicked their travels to other Catholic mission fields: this text was at the top of the list imported to colonial Latin America and the Indies. Together with the *Guia*, it was also translated into Japanese at the behest of the Italian Jesuit Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) in the early 1580s. A manuscript transcription of the translation was presented to Luis de Granada himself by the delegation of four Japanese youths Valignano sent to Europe as cultural ambassadors in 1584 and after they returned to Nagasaki with the first European printing press, the *Guia* was printed in two volumes in 1599. No surviving copy of the *Libro* has been found, but other evidence attests to its role in sustaining the faith of missionaries and the Kirishitan laity during the persecution of Christianity pursued by the ascendant Tokugawa regime. What is still extant in the Houghton Library at Harvard is a single copy of *Fides no quio*, a Japanese translation of Luis de Granada's *Introduccion del simbolo de la fe* (*Introduction to the symbol of the faith*, of 1583) published in Nagasaki in 1611.³⁹ The original five-volume work was a study of God as revealed in providence and the natural world and as displayed by miracles and martyrs. The fourth part of it takes the form of a dialogue between a teacher and a catechumen who is a

38 See Caroline Bowden, 'Building libraries in exile: the English convents and their book collections in the seventeenth century,' *British Catholic History*, 32 (2015), pp. 343–382. See J.T. Rhodes (ed.), *Catalogue des livres provenant des religieuses angloises de Cambrai* = *Book List of the English Benedictine Nuns of Cambrai c. 1739* (Salzburg: FB Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 2013), pp. 88–90. The Bridgettine Library (on deposit in Exeter University Library) includes a number of English editions of the *Memorial* (1625, 1688, 1699), *Of prayer and meditation* (1582, 1584), *The spirituall doctrine* (1599) and *The sinners guide* (1760), as well as Latin edition of his *Opere spirituali* (Venice, 1703) and a Spanish edition of *Libro de la oracion y meditacion* (1767). The Library of the Poor Clares (Darlington) includes editions of the *Memorial* in English (1625, 1688 (3 copies), 1699) and in French (1684); *Of prayer and meditation* in English (1582, 1584) and French (1687), *A spirituall doctrine* (1630), and a French edition of the *Introducción del símbolo de la fe* (1687). For the Augustinians and Sepulchrines, see 'A retreat upon the regulation of our dayly duties' (after 1665), in Caroline Bowden (ed.), *English convents in Exile 1600–1800*, 6 vols, (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012–13), vol. ii, *Spirituality*, ed. Laurence Lux-Sterritt, pp. 146, and 513, n. 18.

39 Facsimile edition of *Fides no quio*: Luis de Granada, *Hidesu no kyo* (Cambridge, MA: Kyōbunkan, 2011), and see pp. ix–xv. Arimichi Ebisawa, *Christianity in Japan: A bibliography of Japanese and Chinese sources, Part 1 (1543–1858)* (Tokyo: Committee on Asian Cultural Studies, International Christian University, 1960), p. 5.

Jewish converso trying to improve his understanding of the Christian faith. It explains the superiorities of Christianity to the other religions that lingered in the southern tip of the Iberian peninsula and may be read as an evangelical response to the endemic and troubling multiconfessionalism Luis encountered in Andalusia. It was this aspect of its character that made it so appropriate for use in the Far East, where the Japanese proved conducive to arguments for monotheism based on the beauty of the universe created by a single supreme being. A Chinese translation had appeared in 1607 by order of the Dominican order in Manila.⁴⁰

The 'mission' which the seminary priests and Jesuits undertook to Elizabethan England was different: the task they faced was not one of planting the faith for the first time but of restoring a country to the religion that had been professed by their ancestors and which could be traced far back into the mists of its past. But their claims that they came to reconcile lapsed Catholics rather than convert heretics must be understood as largely rhetorical: as Michael Questier has shown, these boundaries were impossibly blurred in contemporary minds.⁴¹ Like their Protestant counterparts, they were engaged in a project designed to transform nominal Christians into devout and feeling believers. And they perceived the spiritual books of Luis de Granada and other continental giants as powerful ammunition in the war that they waged against lukewarmness, ungodliness and 'atheism.'

It is tempting to link Luis de Granada's vicarious literary mission to England with the real visit to the kingdom made by another Dominican friar of whom he was a friend and erstwhile pupil: Bartolome de Carranza (1503–1576). A leading figure in the Spanish church who had twice been invited to participate in the sessions of the Council of Trent, he was part of the entourage that accompanied Philip II (1527–98) to England on his marriage to Queen Mary I (1516–1558) in 1554. Carranza remained there and helped to oversee the ambitious programme of Counter-Reformation masterminded by Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500–1558), preaching at court, laying the foundations for the restoration of religious houses, reviving the tradition of an elaborate procession of the Eucharist on the feast of Corpus Christi, and supporting the move to eradicate heresy from the realm by burning intransigent Protestants. Perhaps even more important was the catechism he devised in response to the synod of 1555, a work in four parts which discussed the Apostles and Nicene Creeds,

⁴⁰ See Moore, *Fray Luis de Granada*, Ch. 5.

⁴¹ Michael Questier, *Conversion, politics and religion in England, 1580–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), esp. Chs. 3–4.

the Ten Commandments, the seven sacraments and finally the Christian life.⁴² An emblem of what Eamon Duffy has called England's pioneering experiment in Counter-Reformation, it was ironically this text that proved Carranza's undoing when he returned to Spain to take up the post of bishop of Toledo.⁴³ The Inquisition uncovered in it opinions that it deemed to have a Protestant tinge, especially his discussion of the doctrine of justification by faith, the all-powerful sacrifice of Christ on the cross, the role of external works and the certainty of grace – the same traits that brought Luis de Granada's own *Libro* (1554) and *Guía de pecadores* (1556–7) under critical scrutiny, texts that one suspects might well have become critical instruments had the Marian programme of re-Catholicisation not proved so short-lived. Their tenor and tone was certainly strikingly in keeping with the views of Pole himself, a figure who emerged from the circles of the spirituali who hid their real soteriological beliefs behind the cloak of nicodemism.⁴⁴ Accused of encouraging the illuminist practice of spiritual surrender or abandonment, Carranza languished in prison in Spain and later Rome for seventeen years while his trial wound to a gradual conclusion. Tellingly, in a sermon delivered on the eve of his arrest in 1558, he reproved the misuse of religious labels in a manner reminiscent of complaints about the nickname puritan: "People call prayer, church going, communion and confession *alumbrado*. They will soon call them Lutheran." Despite the interventions of many who defended his orthodoxy, including Luis de Granada himself, he was required to abjure a series of errors and died shortly after his release in 1576.⁴⁵ Carranza's investigation by the Spanish Inquisition was a manifestation of its belief that vernacular books all too often operated as

42 See Edwards and Truman (eds.), *Reforming Catholicism*, 'Introduction,' and William Wizenman, 'The pope, the saints, and the dead: uniformity of doctrine in Carranza's *Catechismo* and the printed works of the Marian theologians,' pp. 115–137; John Edwards, 'Fray Bartolomé Carranza's blueprint for a reformed Catholic Church in England,' in Thomas F. Mayer (ed.), *Reforming Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 141–160. A wider survey is provided in John Edwards, 'Spanish religious influence in Marian England,' in Eamon Duffy and David Loades (eds.), *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 201–224. See also Oechslin, *Louis of Granada*, pp. 18–20, and for an admiring letter written by Luis de Granada to Carranza in 1539, pp. 132–137.

43 Eamon Duffy, *Fires of faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 8 and on Carranza, pp. 68–69, 206.

44 See Anne Dillon, *Michaelangelo and the English martyrs* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), esp. pp. 115, 121, 123–124, 130, 297, 312.

45 On his brush with the Inquisition, see Hamilton, *Heresy and mysticism*, pp. 107–110, quotation at p. 109.

silent heretics and carriers of depravity.⁴⁶ Buttredding the idea that censorship was necessary to safeguard the spiritual health of the laity, this same conviction was shared by the Protestant authorities. Although they mainly targeted subversive works of polemic and periodically ordered their incineration on bonfires of vanities, many officials and ministers regarded the possession of 'popish' books of spirituality as no less dangerous to the souls of the English people than if their authors had appeared to preach to them in person.⁴⁷

The concern and alarm that surrounded the clandestine dispersal of this Andalusian Dominican's devotional books also contains an echo of the anxieties stirred by an incident that had occurred in Salisbury in July 1541, when two otherwise obscure Spanish priests, Juan Abbad and Pedro Ladron were taken into custody after entering the Wiltshire cathedral town. Driven by a sense of providential mission to convert heretical England, Ladron claimed that bad weather "sent hither by god, and the good spirite" had led the ship in which the two were bound for a different destination to land at Dartmouth and declared that "he wolde rather suffer x deathes then he wolde forsake the truthe." These were men who sprang from a society that regarded Henrician England as a nest of ideological depravity and deplored the sacrilegious reformation unleashed by its apostate king, who according to one report was "a very tyrannitte...[who] spendithe hys tyme in all vysshwsness, and in howntyng and halkynge." They were products of a culture that was coming to deploy the terms heretic and Lutheran as synonyms for Englishman and in which a potent cocktail of patriotism and religious prejudice was in the process of being mixed. And this 'other black legend' uncovered by Peter Marshall was a clear mirror image of the one that was crystallising on the opposing side of the confessional divide: a dark and salacious story of the atrocities perpetrated by the Spanish Inquisition and of the violent hostility and irrational hatred of Iberian Catholics towards foreign Protestants. This was a sensibility that manifested itself in rumours such as the report channelled through the English ambassador in 1543 that "dyvers naughtie freers in Seville" planned to poison Henry VIII by sending over "costelye boxes of marmelado" as a gift.⁴⁸ It also found expression in the account of the persecution of the English merchant Nicholas Burton in

46 Virgilio Pinto Crespo, 'Thought control in Spain,' in Haliczzer (ed.), *Inquisition and society*, pp. 171–188.

47 On censorship, see Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. pp. 79–80 and *Press censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 34.

48 Peter Marshall, 'The other Black Legend,' in idem, *Religious identities in Henry VIII's England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 103–123, quotations at 104, 105, 119, 122.

John Foxe's *Actes and monuments* and in the many texts unveiling the dastardly deeds of the Holy Office. One of these was written by a Spanish Protestant refugee using the pen-name Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus and published in Latin in Heidelberg in 1567, before being translated and printed in London the following year under the title *A discouery and playne declaration of sundry subtile practises of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne* to reveal to the English the horrors now being unleashed in the Low Countries and to warn that they too might soon "taste of this Iron whippe."⁴⁹ English and Spanish Catholics joined forces in creating the alter ego of this virulent myth, not least in the guise of Richard Verstegan's (ca. 1550–1640) *Theatrum crudelitatum*, the "theatre of Calvinist cruelties" and of Pedro Ribadeneira's (1527–1611) polemical history of the English schism, *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra* (1588).⁵⁰ And in his own *Sumario de la introducción del símbolo de la fe* Luis de Granada himself incorporated tales of the martyrdoms of Edmund Campion (1540–81) and other seminary priests at the hands of the Elizabethan Protestant regime. Intertwining his hatred of heresy with a dose of contempt for foreigners, he could not resist quoting the words uttered by one of those executed in May 1582, Roberto Fonsono (Robert Johnson) to his inquisitors: "*Cristo no la rezó en lengua inglesa*" ("Christ did not pray in English").⁵¹ The temperate and spiritual tone of his writings on prayer and meditation disguises the fact that Luis de Granada was a man whose own sense of religious identity was coloured by antagonism towards his country's sworn enemy and for whom the defeat of the Armada was a humiliating disaster. He too played his part in the dialectical and mutually reinforcing processes by which confessional sentiment became intertwined with cultural xenophobia.

49 González de Montes, *A discouery and playne declaration of sundry subtile practises of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne* Certaine speciall examples set aparte by them selues...wherein a man may see the forsaid practises of the Inquisition, as they be practised and exercised very liuely described (London: 1568); quotation from 1625 edition, sig A3v. See also Kinder, "Spain's little-known "noble army of martyrs," pp. 75–81.

50 Richard Verstegan, *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (Antwerp: 1588); Pedro de Ribadeneira, *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del Reyno de Inglaterra; en la qual se tratan las cosas mas notables q̃ han sucedido en aquel reyno, tocantes à nuestra santa Religion, desde que començo hasta la muerte de la Reyna de Escocia* (Çaragoça: 1588).

51 See Luis de Granada, *Sumario de la introducción del símbolo de la fe*, in *Obras Completas*, vol. 13 (Madrid, 1997), Chs. 22–3, at p. 183. He probably derived this from William Allen's *A brieue historie of the glorious martyrdom of xii. reverend priests* ([Rheims], 1582), sig. A8v ('what? do you thinke that Christ taught in english?').

Luis Granada as an Apostle to Protestant England

As noted at the outset, illicit Catholic editions printed on presses abroad were not the only vehicles for Luis de Granada's dumb preaching to Protestant England. This final section turns to the editions of Luis de Granada spiritual writings published by members of the London Stationers' Company. If some of these were the work of individuals with Catholic sympathies, others were consciously Protestant productions sanctioned by the authorities. As Alison Shell has remarked, the exclusion of this category of literature from Allison and Rogers' invaluable bibliographical catalogue has had the effect of marginalising many recusant writers and of concealing the high degree of Catholic seepage into a context in which Protestantism theoretically enjoyed a total monopoly. Such texts have too often "fallen between the ideological cracks," but they qualify and modify our picture of the book trade in a variety of ways.⁵²

In fact the first English rendering of a work by Luis de Granada, *A breefe treatise...commonly called the conversion of a sinner*, was a translation from Italian by a certain M. K, the publication of which is attributed to the crypto-Catholic Gabriel Cawood (1535–1599) and tentatively dated by the compilers of the STC to 1580.⁵³ It may be significant that a 1599 edition of the *Memoriall of a Christian Life* with a false imprint has been linked with another conservative stationer Valentine Simmes, while the translator of two other anthologies of his meditations entitled *The flowers of Lodowicke of Granado* (1601) and *A paradise of praiers* (first published 1601) was Thomas Lodge (1558–1625), a prolific author and physician who married a recusant, intermittently spent time on the continent and kept company with dissidents, and may himself have been a committed Catholic.⁵⁴ But it is probably unhelpful to play the parlour

52 Alison Shell, *Catholicism, controversy, and the English literary imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 14; John R. Yamamoto-Wilson, 'The Protestant reception of Catholic devotional literature in England to 1700,' *Recusant History*, 32 (2014), pp. 67–89, at 72.

53 *A breefe treatise exhorting sinners to repentance, commonly called, The conversion of a sinner*, trans. M.K. ([London: 1580?]). A second edition entitled *The conversion of a sinner* was printed by Thomas Creede in 1598. On Protestant translations of Luis de Granada's works, see also Hagedorn, *Reformation und Spanische andachtsliteratur*.

54 For the 1599 edition of the *Memoriall of a Christian life* attributed to Simmes, see STC 16904, and n. 20 above. For Lodge's translations: *The flowers of Lodowicke of Granado. The first part. In which is handled the conversion of a sinner*, trans. T[homas] L[odge] (London: 1601); *A paradise of prayers containing the purity of devotion and meditation: gathered out of all the spirituall exercises of Lewes of Granado: and Englished for the benefit of the Christian reader*, [trans. Thomas Lodge] (London: 1605; entered in Stationers' Register, 22 May

game of spotting the papist in this instance. Lodge's literary output is highly eclectic and does not appear to have been primarily driven by his religious affiliation. His compilations of Luis de Granada look more opportunistic and may reflect the success of the editions of *The Sinners guyde*, *Granados devotion*, and *Granados spirituall and heavenlie exercises* prepared by the Lincolnshire born Francis Meres (1565–1647), a graduate of Cambridge who made his living as a semi-professional author and who in later life was ordained and became rector of the parish of Wing in Rutland in 1602.⁵⁵ The anonymously-edited 1592 Protestant version of *prayer and meditation*, however, was dedicated to the suspected crypto-Catholic Ferdinando Stanley (1559–1594), subsequently earl of Derby, whom Richard Hesketh (1553–1593) later endeavoured to persuade to seize the English throne.⁵⁶ By contrast, we know little about the Mr Banister who edited Hopkins' version of this text, quietly eliminating its conspicuously popish features.⁵⁷

Entries in the Stationers' Register reveal that editions of Luis's devotions and meditations became a lucrative line for leading lights in the late Elizabethan and Stuart book trade, the rights to which were recorded along with other popular stock items and hotly disputed in the Company's court.⁵⁸ These later editions attest to the progressive migration of Luis de Granada into the Protestant mainstream. They also enjoyed success in Scotland, where Robert Waldegrave brought out several editions.⁵⁹ Comparing the Spanish Dominican's works to a horde of "earthly and terrestrial jewels" surrounded by dragon, giants, monsters and other "Scythian dangers", Meres legitimised the adaptation

1601; other editions 1609, 1633). Alexandra Halasz, 'Lodge, Thomas,' *ODNB* (Oxford: 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16923>, accessed 19 Sept 2014].

55 Luis de Granada, *Sinners guyde; Granados devotion; Granados spirituall and heavenlie exercises*. David Kathman, 'Meres, Francis (1565/6–1647), Writer and Translator,' *ODNB* (Oxford: 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18581>, accessed 19 Sept 2014]. See also Yamamoto-Wilson, 'Protestant Reception,' 67–89, at 72, 75–7.

56 *Of prayer and meditation...treating of the principall matters and holy misteries of our faith* (London, 1592), sigs. ¶4r–v. See also Yamamoto-Wilson, 'Protestant reception,' p. 76.

57 Luis de Granada, *Of prayer and meditation*, [ed. Mr Banister, son of John Banister], (London: 1592), On this edition, see Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 282–283.

58 Edward Arber (ed.), *A transcript of the registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640*, 5 vols (London: privately printed, 1875–94), iii. 88, 108, 109, 122, 130, 131, 164, 178, 183, 184; iv. 148; William A. Jackson (ed.), *Records of the court of the Stationers' Company 1602 to 1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1957), p. 49.

59 *The conversion of a sinner* (see n. 53) was printed by Robert Waldegrave was published in Edinburgh, 1599; *Granados spiritual and heavenly exercises* (see n. 55) appeared in 1600.

of *The Sinners guide* for Protestant readers by declaring that the corruptions with which the text was fraught should not discourage their use: "wee must not doe as Lycurgus dyd, who, because the Grape was abused by potte companions, cutte downe all the Spartan Vines... For we finde by experience, that this Argument *ab abusu ad non usum*, from the abuse of good things to the abolishing of them, as it hath bred heresies and schisms in the Church: so also rebellions & treasons in the Common-wealth." In "perusing" the text, like a "good Pylot," he had carefully removed the "dangerous rocks threatening shipwracke" upon which the weak might founder and stumble.⁶⁰ H.P.'s 1633 edition of *The paradise of prayers* described how Luis de Granada's godly meditations had "long since [been] devested from their Spanish habit...[and] suted in our English attire...for the benefit of Gods Children" and "received and layd up into the Sanctuary & Treasury of our Church, not as a popish relique, but as a precious Iewell of inestimable price and valew." To question the validity of Luis's "pious labours" was "directly to quarrell with the truth, and maliciously to deny the brightnes and clarity of the Sunne, when he is in his hottest Meridian, and in the Verticall poynt of his most resplendent lustre and glory."⁶¹ These translators gently massaged the Spanish Dominican to make him speak with a Protestant accent.⁶²

The strategies they employed recall Edmund Bunny's more famous "perusal" and purgation of Robert Persons' *First book of Christian exercise* for reformed readers, a process which the Jesuit complained "maketh me to speake like a good minister of England".⁶³ They are also reminiscent of the assertion by Robert Abbot (1560–1617) that there was no need to recoil from using Catholic writers, for "we forbear not to turne & winde all Popish authors, either of former or latter time, that what gold we can find in their dunghills, we may apply...to the furnishing of the temple of the Lord."⁶⁴ Flowers, wrote Richard Brathwaite (1587/8–1673) in response to a "rigid Precisian" in 1638, did not necessarily lose their "native beauty, vigour and verdue" if they were "culled from

60 Luis de Granada, *The sinners guyde*, Dedication to Sir Thomas Egerton, sigs A2v–3r.

61 Luis de Granada, *A paradise of prayers*, trans. Thomas Lodge and ed. H.P. (London: 1633), sig. A3r–v.

62 To adapt a phrase used by Anthony Milton, 'Licensing, censorship and religious orthodoxy in early Stuart England,' *Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), pp. 625–651, at 647.

63 Bunny, *Booke of Christian exercise*: see the dedication to Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, and Preface to the Reader for a justification of his strategy: sigs A2r–3v, A5r–6v. [Robert Persons], *A Christian directorie guiding men to their salvation* ([Rouen]: 1585), fo.111r.

64 Robert Abbot, *The second part of the defence of the reformed Catholicke* (London: 1607), p. 982.

a Roman border.”⁶⁵ Others invoked the recurring proverb that the industrious bee could collect wholesome nectar and honey from the same sweet blossoms from which the spider sucked poison and venom.⁶⁶

As John Yamamoto-Wilson’s current research on this topic is showing, Protestant appropriations of pre- and post-Reformation devotional works proliferated in this period.⁶⁷ They were partly a product of the perception that Catholics had stolen a march on reformed ministers in meeting the appetite of the laity for spiritual guidance. They can be read as a tacit admission of failure: the dearth of Protestant alternatives was a serious shortcoming, which “the Papists cast in our teeth”. So admitted Stephen Egerton (1555–1621) in the preface to his edition of Richard Rogers’ *Seven treatises*, a book consciously intended as a response or “counterpoison to all such inchantments of papists”, including Robert Persons’ “Book of Resolution” and the “meditations of Frier Granatensis” which had “ensnared the minds of simple Christians.”⁶⁸ Daniel Featley (1582–1645) too was bound to concede that “the Romanists for the most part exceed [us] in bulke,” though he averred that much of this literature was “bleared eyed with superstition.”⁶⁹ But they might also be interpreted as evidence of the compatibility of these Catholic classics of contemplative spirituality with the brand of affective Protestant piety skilfully evoked in a recent monograph by Alec Ryrie.⁷⁰

It is therefore wrong to posit the existence of mutually exclusive audiences for the different editions of Luis de Granada that circulated in post-Reformation England: these moved back and forth with ease across confessional boundaries in a manner that defies the harsh polarities embedded in contemporary

65 Richard Brathwaite, *A spirituall spicerie containing sundrie sweet tractates of devotion and piety* (London, 1638), pp. 226–227. He was defending his translation of a dialogue by the fifteenth-century German writer Jacobus Gruytrodius.

66 See, e.g., *Of prayer and meditation*, [ed. and trans. R. Banister] (London, 1602; first publ. 1592), sig. A3v. On how this proverb was invoked in relation to polemical texts printed for refutation, see my ‘The spider and the bee: the perils of printing for refutation in Tudor England,’ in John N. King (ed.), *Tudor books and readers: materiality and the construction of meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 163–190.

67 Yamamoto-Wilson, ‘Protestant reception.’

68 Richard Rogers, *Seven treatises, containing such direction as it gathered out of the holie scriptures, leading and guiding to true happiness...and may be called the practise of Christianitie*, ed. Stephen Egerton (London: 1603), ‘The Christian Reader,’ sigs A3r, A6r.

69 Daniel Featley, *Ancilla pietatis: or, the hand-maid to private devotion* (London: 1626), sig. A6r.

70 Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 284–292.

polemic. Hopkins' version of his *Of prayer and meditation*, for instance, can be found in the library of the pious Protestant Frances Egerton Countess of Bridgewater (1583–1636), alongside Alexander Cooke's (ca.1564–1632) *More worke for a masse-priest* (1621) and Thomas Morton's (ca. 1564–1659) virulent diatribe against *The grand imposture of the (now) Church of Rome* (1626).⁷¹ By contrast, the final page of the British Library's copy of Lodge's anthology of *The flowers of Lodowicke of Granado* (1601) bears the signature of "Mary Basson": a nun of this name was professed as Agnes Maria St Joseph at Lierre in 1651, the daughter of a Dutch merchant.⁷² These examples underline the ambiguities of anti-Catholicism and anti-Protestantism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By the second quarter of the seventeenth century, as Anthony Milton has shown, the tactics deployed by Bunny to bring about "pacification" were discredited and regarded by the godly as a hallmark of Laudianism.⁷³ But this should not eclipse the forms of qualified intolerance and the capacity for coexistence that had always been present in English society.⁷⁴ The Spain and Portugal of Luis de Granada was itself a pluralistic world in which *conversos*, *moriscos* and Christians continued to jostle shoulders and in which Catholic orthodoxy was not always neatly distinguishable from illuminism or Lutheranism. It was a world in which his own eirenical spiritual writings came under suspicion but survived further censure because he was willing to modify them in accordance with the prevailing climate. Ironically, if some of the ideas with which his works were infused brought him to the attention of the Inquisition, these same elements and tendencies may also partly explain why Protestant translators were so magnetically attracted to them. The language of justification and predestination in which the editions of the latter were couched perhaps reflects less a wilful distortion of the original texts than the ambiguities of the religious outlook of Luis de Granada himself.⁷⁵

71 See Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading material in early modern England: print, gender and literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 258–281.

72 Nicky Hallett, *The senses in religious communities, 1600–1800: early modern 'convents of pleasure'* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 60, n. 86.

73 See Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 40–42, 176–187, and ch.5, esp. pp. 229–251.

74 Anthony Milton, 'A qualified intolerance: the limits and ambiguities of early Stuart anti-Catholicism,' in Arthur F. Marotti (ed.), *Catholicism and anti-Catholicism in early modern English texts* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 85–115. See also my *Charitable hatred: tolerance and intolerance in England 1500–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), esp. Ch. 5.

75 See, e.g., Lodge's *Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado*, fos 55r–60v, 68v.

Stuart Schwarz's brilliant book *All can be saved* has revealed a powerful and persistent strand of doubt, scepticism and relativism regarding the way to salvation in the Iberian peninsula, which he perceives as laying some of the foundations for Enlightenment toleration. His social history of attitudes and cultural history of thought rests on a careful excavation of inquisitorial records. The translations studied in this paper arguably reinforce his insights about the existence of "the substrata of tolerance" in early modern society more widely from a different angle.⁷⁶ Such texts were the vehicles by which diversity and pluralism became entrenched in contemporary discourse and by which people in England, as elsewhere in Europe, were exposed to the products of an international literary culture that was not fractured or bounded by the theological divisions that hardened between Wittenberg, Geneva and Rome. They illustrate Anglo-Spanish cross fertilisations that set a question mark beside claims of rampant anti-popery and pervasive Hispanophobia and underline the fertile and creative consequences of external repression and of self-censorship. Finally, unseating the conventional hierarchies that privilege authorship and denigrate translation as a inferior form of textual creation, the English editions of Luis de Granada analysed here present the latter as an act of collusion. They index its vital importance as a strategy of exchange, encounter, evangelism and acculturation.

76 Stuart B. Schwartz, *All can be saved: religious tolerance and salvation in the Iberian Atlantic world* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), at p. 243.

Persons' Displeasure: Collaboration and Design in *Leicester's Commonwealth*

Victor Houlston

The biography of the book known as *Leicester's Commonwealth* stimulates much thought about the subversive book trade between France and England in the years following the English Mission of 1580/1: tensions between opportunity and ideal, personal feeling and group identity, propaganda and literary form, informers and information, diplomacy, war and polemic.¹ It was written in the early summer of 1584 and probably printed on a press in Rouen directed by Fr Robert Persons (1546–1610).² Hundreds of copies were couriered to England, probably by lay brother Ralph Emerson (1553–1604), who returned to France in August after delivering 810 books.³ On his next journey, in September, he was arrested on his arrival in London from Norwich, with a consignment of “sclaunderous books,” “touchinge some of the honorable Counsell,” and imprisoned in the Counter in the Poultry.⁴ John Bossy claims that the book was smuggled into England via the French embassy, conveniently situated near the river in the vicinity of the Temple.⁵ There is no good reason why both routes might not have been used; at all events, Walsingham saw a copy on 28 September; Leicester's

- 1 *The copie of a leter, wryten by a Master of Arte of Cambrige to his friend in London, concerning some talke past of late between two worshipful and graue men, about the present state, and some procedinges of the Erle of Leycester and his friendes in England* (Rouen: Fr Persons' Press, 1584). All quotations are taken from D.C. Peck's edition (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1985), with page references given in text. On the authorship, see Peter Holmes, ‘The authorship of “Leicester's Commonwealth,”’ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), pp. 424–430, L. Hicks, ‘The growth of a myth: Father Robert Persons, SJ, and Leicester's Commonwealth,’ *Studies: An Irish Quarterly*, 46 (1957), pp. 91–105. See also Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth-century Paris* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), pp. 95–102.
- 2 D.C. Peck (introd.), *Leicester's Commonwealth*, pp. 5–13.
- 3 Persons to Agazzari, 20 August 1584, *Letters and memorials of Robert Persons, SJ*, ed. L. Hicks, CRS 39 (London: Catholic Record Society, 1942), p. 227, hereafter *Letters and memorials*. References to Persons' letters use this edition, corrected where necessary from the new edition of his Correspondence, in progress.
- 4 *CRS Miscellanea II*, ed. J.H. Pollen, CRS 2 (London: Catholic Record Society, 1906), pp. 249, 251, and *Miscellanea IV*, ed. J.H. Pollen, CRS 4 (London: Catholic Record Society, 1907), pp. 156–159.
- 5 John Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the embassy affair* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 19, 157 n. 55, and 197–200 (Text no. 4).

nephew Sir Philip Sidney sprang to the defence, and a Royal Proclamation of 12 October cried treason. Early in 1585 a French translation was published, followed a few months later by a short *Addicion*, in a rather different style. That *Addicion* was in turn translated into English by Sir John Harington and others, but never published.⁶

The debate about the authorship has been inconclusive. The case for the emigré nobleman Sir Charles Arundel rests on the defamatory or libellous character of the work, and its close association with the interest of the Howard clan and French politics: the failed Anjou match and the Huguenot threat.⁷ During Anjou's courtship of Queen Elizabeth Arundel, along with Henry Howard (1540–1614), the future Earl of Northampton, had been intimate with the Earl of Oxford, and all three flirted with Catholicism. Late in 1580, possibly as a result of alarm over the arrival of Persons and Campion, Oxford renounced his incipient Catholic faith and informed on his friends. As a result, Arundel was imprisoned and then held in more informal custody for several months.⁸ In his extensive depositions against Oxford, whom he now called his “monstrous adversary,” he recalled their common hostility to Leicester. Oxford had been detained in 1579 as a result of his libels against Leicester,⁹ but now Leicester was the very man who, to use Peck's term, “weaned” Oxford from his Catholic associates.¹⁰ By publicising the libels, Arundel may have hoped to drive a wedge between Oxford and Leicester; by 1585 Oxford was distancing himself from Leicester, abandoning his command of a company of horse at Flushing as soon as Leicester arrived to take charge of the English forces in support of the Dutch revolt.¹¹

Arundel's depositions against Oxford, dating from January 1581, include a memorandum of “Articles wherof Oxford wold have accusid Lester.” The content of these accusations is certainly germane: especially the report that Oxford tried to get hold of poison from Leicester that was “of Ceasare,” probably an

6 Gerard Kilroy, ‘Advertising the reader: Sir John Harington's “Directions in the margent” [with illustrations],’ *ELR*, 41 (2011), pp. 64–110.

7 Peck (introd.), *Leicester's Commonwealth*, pp. 13–25; see also J.H. Pollen, ‘Howard traditions in “Leicester's Commonwealth,” 1584,’ in *The Ven. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel*, CRS 21 (London: Catholic Record Society, 1919), pp. 57–66.

8 Alan H. Nelson, *Monstrous adversary: The life of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), pp. 259, 273.

9 Nelson, *Monstrous adversary*, pp. 201–203, 249–258.

10 Peck (introd.), *Leicester's Commonwealth*, pp. 19–21; see also Mitchell Leimon and Geoffrey Parker, ‘Treason and plot in Elizabethan diplomacy: The “fame of Sir Edward Stafford” reconsidered,’ *English Historical Review*, 111 (November 1996), pp. 1134–1158 (1142–1143).

11 Nelson, *Monstrous adversary*, pp. 296–297.

error for Leicester's physician Guilio Borgarucci, whose poisoning art is made much of in *Leicester's Commonwealth*.¹² Since almost every point in Arundel's report resonates in *Leicester's Commonwealth*, there seems very little reason to doubt that most of the substance of the work, so far as it had to do with Leicester, came from Arundel, who may also have drawn on French libels.¹³ Arundel came to Paris, along with Thomas Lord Paget, late in 1583, fleeing the aftermath of the arrest of Francis Throckmorton, and there he associated with the English ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford (1552–1605), who was married to Leicester's cast-off mistress, Douglass Howard.¹⁴ Arundel had, therefore, many demonstrable motives for libelling Leicester, and in January 1585 Leicester was said to have retaliated by sending a hit-man to Paris to deal with him.¹⁵

Could *Leicester's Commonwealth*, in its final form, have been written by Arundel? His depositions give some indication of the character of his writing, which is occasionally quite vigorous and entertaining, and it is possible to find echoes of his manner in *Leicester's Commonwealth*. But did he have the ability to shape material like this into a coherent and effective literary dialogue, not merely reporting, but inventing interchanges which lead to a brilliantly conceived climax? *Leicester's Commonwealth* consists of a lively, in places semi-dramatic, dialogue involving a Lawyer, a Gentleman and his son the Scholar. It is occasioned, supposedly, by the Lawyer's puzzled reading of William Cecil's *The execution of justice in England* (1583), which imputes treason to those Catholics who have been imprisoned or put to death by the English authorities. In the course of the dialogue, the speakers lament the failure of the French match and the harsh measures taken against Catholics, blame Leicester for the troubles of the realm, rehearse the claims of Mary Queen of Scots to the English throne, and finally appeal for Leicester to be brought to justice. By far the most compelling part of the work is a sustained attack on Leicester's character and crimes.

The deftness of the design and the execution compels us to consider how far Persons was involved in the writing. All his recorded utterances about it are teasing. In December 1584, writing to his friend Alfonso Agazzari, Rector of the English College in Rome, he expressed his satisfaction with the effect of

12 Nelson, *Monstrous adversary*, pp. 200–203, 467 n. 1; cf. *Leicester's Commonwealth*, pp. 80, 82.

13 Pollen, 'Howard traditions,' pp. 57–58.

14 Peck (introd.), *Leicester's Commonwealth*, pp. 24–25.

15 Thomas Morgan to Mary, Queen of Scots, 5/15 January 1585, in *State papers relating to affairs in the reign... of Queen Elizabeth... 1571–96 ... at Hatfield House*, ed. W. Murdin (London: William Bowyer, 1759), pp. 456–457.

Leicester's Commonwealth, which he mischievously attributed to "some Protestant" who, he implied, wanted to support Cecil against Leicester and the Puritans. It is tempting to read some writerly pride into his description of the book and its popularity:

It is wonderful to tell with what greedy hands this book was being dog-eared in England. Some even offered £20 English for one, and twenty gold pieces to have the book for three or four hours on loan, so hated is Leicester by all. But the book contains marvellous matters about this fellow and his cronies. I very much wish that your Reverence could understand the book because you would be astonished reading it.

The statistics offered here should not, perhaps, be taken literally, but as a rhetorically patterned celebration of success. Persons reported further that "Leicester was tortured almost to insanity by marvellous pain."¹⁶ In 1598, replying to accusations by Charles Paget (1542–1612), he claimed that *Leicester's Commonwealth* was "conflated" from the work of several Catholics, and that "whoever put the last touches to the book...if Fr Persons had any part in it," it was politically innocent.¹⁷ In 1602 John Cecil (*alias* Snowden, 1558–1626), a somewhat unreliable witness, reported Arundel's confession that Persons had given "method, style and form" to the work.¹⁸ Persons rather evasively denied it: "I neuer heard any man of notice, and judgment ascribe [*Leicester's Commonwealth* and other books] to him [Persons] before, and if I be not deceyued, other particuler authors are knowne to haue written them."¹⁹ Peter Holmes treats this as an equivocation prompted by Persons's need to defend his record in the aftermath of the archpriest controversy. In the same year Persons seized

16 Persons to Agazzari, 13 Dec 1584, *Letters and memorials*, pp. 266–268, corrected.

17 Persons's response to Paget, 22 August 1598, translated by Holmes, 'Authorship,' pp. 425–426, citing in turn Hicks, 'Growth of a myth,' p. 97.

18 John Cecil, memorial for Pope Clement VIII, August 1602, in *The archpriest controversy*, ed. T.G. Law (2 vols, London: Camden Society, 1896–1898), II. 99, cited by Hicks, 'Growth of a myth,' pp. 91–92. John Cecil, possibly a distant relative of the Cecils of Hatfield House, was ordained in Rome, spent some time with Persons in Valladolid, operated as a spy for the English authorities, and represented the appellants in Rome in 1601–1602; see Geoffrey Anstruther, *The seminary priests* (4 vols, Ware: St Edmund's College, Ushaw College and Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1968–1977), I. 63–68.

19 *The warn-word to Sir Francis Hastings wast-word* (Antwerp: Arnout Coninx, 1602), fol. 2v, in response to Matthew Sutcliffe, *A challenge concerning the Romish church* (London: A. Hatfield, 1602), p. 193, cited by Holmes, 'Authorship,' p. 426.

on a compositor's error, to deny all knowledge of a book called "Greenewat" – a mistake for "Greencoat," the name by which the book was popularly known.²⁰

The word play is tantalising; indeed, the resourcefulness of Persons' denials matches the ingenuity of the work itself. We are left wondering exactly what he meant by adding the "last touches" to *Leicester's Commonwealth*. How heavy or how light was that touch? We might speculate that Persons encouraged Arundel to get his material into print, and then promoted the book simply by editing, printing and distributing it. He might have gone further and guided Arundel to raise the level of his revelations to a treatise on Leicester's threat to the state and the case for toleration. Or Persons might have shaped the entire work into a dialogue, working at high speed and incorporating, sometimes word for word, information supplied by the collaborators, thus finding a way to turn Arundel's raw material into a highly effective pamphlet. It is the purpose of this essay to probe these questions more fully, and consider the implications.

Persons' Authorship?

Leicester's Commonwealth was only one of several works printed at Rouen in 1584 as part of a battle of books, what Englefield called "fight[ing] with paper & pennes."²¹ In 1583 Cecil had published his *Execution of justice* in defence of the prosecution of Catholic priests and their supporters as enemies to the realm, to which William Allen (1532–1594) replied with his *True, sincere, and modest defence, of English Catholiques*. Already, in 1582, Persons had urged the necessity of books in English on the papal deposing power, the claims of Mary Queen of Scots, and the state of persecution under Elizabeth.²² These aspirations were

20 *A manifestation of the great folly and bad spirit of certayne in England calling themselves secular priests* (Antwerp: Arnout Coninxc, 1602), fol. 51v, responding to William Watson's prefatory epistle to Thomas Bluet, *Important considerations, which ought to move all true and sound-Catholikes...to acknowledge...that the proceedings of her Maiestie...have bene both mild and mercifull* (London: Richard Field, 1601), sig. **3v. Cf. Holmes, 'Authorship,' p. 426 n. 15.

21 Sir Francis Englefield to unknown addressee, 27 February 1585, *TNA SP 53/15* fol. 42, quoted and modernized by Peck (introd.), *Leicester's Commonwealth*, p. 12. The phrase provides the title for Freddy Christóbal Domínguez's dissertation, "'We must fight with paper and pens': Spanish Elizabethan polemics 1585–1598," diss. Princeton University, 2011.

22 Memorial for King Philip II and Pope Gregory XIII, May 1582 (by Persons and others), *Letters and memorials*, pp. 156–157 (Italian) and 165 (English), cited by Thomas H. Clancy, *Papist pamphleteers: The Allen-Persons party and the political thought of the Counter-Reformation in England, 1572–1615* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1964), pp. 55–56.

fulfilled by Allen's work, which handles the papal deposing power, John Leslie's treatise on the title of Mary Queen of Scots, and, in a bolder, more combative mode, *Leicester's Commonwealth*. The following year, in 1585, appeared Edward Rishton's edition and continuation of Nicholas Sander's *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani*, which Allen and Persons edited again, and expanded, in 1586.²³

Persons' personal role, as a writer, in these books, was varied. He seems to have been surrounded by a group of assistants: William Weston (ca. 1550–1615), Richard Rowlands Verstegan (ca. 1550–1640) and Thomas Fitzherbert (1552–1640). When William Weston arrived from Spain in June 1584, he assisted Persons with completing for the press “those works he was writing.”²⁴ Richard Verstegan and Thomas Fitzherbert had been in Oxford with Persons in the late 1560s and early 1570s, and had crossed to the continent in 1582. Persons had employed Fitzherbert in 1580/1 to check references for Campion's *Rationes decem* (1581), and Verstegan was to become his agent in Antwerp from 1590. Verstegan was already heavily involved in subversive printing in Rouen, and got into trouble in 1583 for planning to publish offensive engravings of Queen Elizabeth. He was imprisoned at the request of the English ambassador, Stafford, but released through the influence of the papal nuncio. Early in 1584 he made his way to the English College in Rome.²⁵ If we read his pamphlets of the early 1590s, especially *A declaration of the true causes of the great troubles, presupposed to be intended against the realm of England* (1592) and *An advertisement written to a secretarie of my L. Treasurers of England* (1592), we shall find a similar liveliness of style to that of *Leicester's Commonwealth*, but his stay in Paris overlapped only briefly with Arundel's, who arrived in December 1583. Fitzherbert was found to be storing supplies of the French continuation of *Leicester's Commonwealth* in 1585, and so was clearly involved in the project in some way, possibly again as a research assistant, possibly even as a co-author, since his own published works show a comparable vigour of style.²⁶ Here in Paris in 1584/5 he too may have been undergoing a kind of writer's apprenticeship.

23 Nicholas Sander, *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani* (Cologne: vere Rheims, Jean Foigny: 1585; revised edition: Rome: Bartholomaeus Bonfadinus, 1586), commonly called *De schismate Anglicano*.

24 CRS *Miscellanea* IV, pp. 156–157.

25 Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp and the world: Richard Verstegan and the international culture of Catholic reformation* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004), pp. 29–34.

26 Peck (introd.), *Leicester's Commonwealth*, pp. 9–10; Thomas Fitzherbert, *A defence of the catholyke cause* (Antwerp: Arnout Coninx, 1602) and *A treatise concerning policy, and religion* (2 vols, Douai: Lawrence Kellam, 1606, and Douai: Pierre Auroi, 1610).

Persons was not at this stage doing any entirely original writing for the press. He was expanding and revising his phenomenally successful *First booke of the Christian exercise, appertayning to resolution* (1582), now undergoing extensive transformation into *A Christian directorie* (1585). In this expansive editing mode, he may have turned to *Leicester's Commonwealth*. Several features of the work point to his hand. First, there is the dialogue form, which he was to use both in *Newes from Spayne and Holland* (1593) and in *A conference about the next succession* (1594/5). He was also to adopt a fictional or quasi-dramatic persona in *The judgement of a Catholicke English-man* (1608). Second, there are the summative paragraphs which draw the accusations against Leicester into powerfully integrated denunciations, such as the rhetorical piling up of examples of his depredations (pp. 108–109). Persons was to use a similar technique in his editing of Sander's *De schismate Anglicano* in 1586 (pp. 291–294). *A conference about the next succession* and *The first booke of the Christian exercise*, which is largely based on Luis de Granada, also bear testimony to his skill in adapting, extending and shaping materials provided by others.²⁷

The objections that might be raised against Persons' authorship relate to the content and context of the work. The passionate lament for the failure of the Anjou match (pp. 77–79) and the preoccupation with Mary's claims (pp. 140–171) seem to go beyond Persons' own interest in these causes, but they are not inconsistent with his concerns; he could accommodate them in the work while putting his full creative energies into the diatribe against Leicester. Then there is the plea for toleration. In one passage, for example, some continental models are proposed: "in all the countries of Germany, Polonia, Boemeland, and Hungary...a little bearing of th'one with th'other hath wrought them much ease" (p. 184). Persons did not endorse religious pluralism, despite protesting strongly against Elizabethan persecution: Catholic regimes had no duty to tolerate heresy.²⁸ Still, *A Christian directorie* contained an eloquent plea for his readers to set aside their religious differences and seek to serve God in earnest.²⁹ There he displayed an irenic spirit which was not far removed from *Leicester's Commonwealth's* advocacy of mutual forbearance. By 1608 he was ready to urge peaceful co-existence in *A treatise tending to mitigation towardes Catholicke-subiectes in England*.

27 L. Hicks, 'Father Robert Persons SJ and *The book of the succession*,' *Recusant History*, 4 (1957), pp. 104–137.

28 Clancy, *Papist pamphleteers*, p. 148.

29 Persons, *A Christian directorie guiding men to their salvation* (Rouen: Fr Persons' Press, 1585), p. 6v, rehearsing his appeal, in *The first booke of the Christian exercise, appertayning to resolution* (Rouen: Fr Persons' Press, 1582), p. 4.

The Politics of the English Catholic Exiles in France and the Netherlands, 1582–1584

Persons' role in the production of *Leicester's Commonwealth* is best considered in relation to the shifting political attitudes of the English Catholic exiles in France and the Netherlands. Expectations had been galvanised by the Guise plots which dominated the scene from 1582 to 1584: the exiles were infected by Catholic militancy, and a wide range of leading figures was involved in the plotting. In the spring of 1582 Allen, Persons, the Jesuit Provincial Claude Matthieu (1537–1587), Henry Duke of Guise (1550–1588), Mary's ambassador James Beaton (1517–1603, Archbishop of Glasgow), the Spanish ambassador Juan de Tassis (1530–1610), the papal nuncio Giovanni Battista Castelli (1517–1583), and the Scottish Jesuit William Crichton (ca. 1534–1617) had put together the initial plan, for an invasion of Scotland with the collaboration of the royal favourite Esmé Stuart (ca. 1542–1583), Duke of Lennox, and the Catholic Scottish lords.³⁰ This plan collapsed when Lennox lost his control of James at the Raid of Ruthven in August 1582, but was succeeded by a second plan, for a two-pronged invasion through Lancashire and Sussex. The Throckmorton Plot, as this phase has come to be known, foundered when Francis Throckmorton (the most active conspirator on the English side of the Channel) was arrested, thanks to a mole at the French embassy in London.³¹ Even so, the Duke of Guise did not give up, and in early 1584 was recruiting for an invasion he would lead himself.³²

It could be said that the English Catholic exiles in Paris, Rouen and Rheims were pinning their hopes on the Guise. Matthieu's professed house was known as a hotbed of militancy.³³ But there were cracks in this apparent unity. Thomas Morgan, Mary's agent in Paris, had been excluded from the initial discussions and may have been piqued by not being given a more prominent role. After the fall of Lennox, Persons believed he had persuaded Morgan and his associate

30 Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541–1588* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 182–185, and T.F. Knox (introd.), *The letters and memorials of William Cardinal Allen (1532–1594)* (London: David Nutt, 1882), pp. xxxiv–xliii.

31 Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the embassy affair*.

32 Stuart Carroll, *Martyrs and murderers: The Guise family and the making of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 242–255.

33 Carroll, *Martyrs and murderers*, p. 246; see also Arblaster, *Antwerp and the world*, p. 25 and A. Lynn Martin, *Henry III and the Jesuit politicians* (Geneva: Droz, 1973), *passim*. In 1582 Matthieu was replaced as French Provincial by Odo Pigenat and was appointed superior of the professed house in Paris.

Charles Paget to support the enterprise.³⁴ But when Paget journeyed to Sussex in the autumn of 1583, it was not clear whether he was intending to garner support for the planned invasion, or to warn the Catholic gentry, including his brother Thomas Lord Paget, not to compromise themselves by involvement in a foreign plot.³⁵ Morgan was primarily concerned to advance Mary's interests, and also to monopolize her correspondence. He appears to have alienated her even from her ambassador Archbishop Beaton, one of the prime movers in the Guise scheme.³⁶

When Arundel arrived in Paris with Lord Paget in December 1583, he gravitated towards Henri Simier, Mary's Jesuit confessor, Morgan and Stafford.³⁷ For these men, politics centred not so much on the Guise – although both Arundel and Charles Paget had experience in the Guise household and Stafford was said to be passing information to the Guise – as on the French monarchy.³⁸ This chimed with the hopes of a man such as Castelnau, French ambassador in London, who according to Bossy saw Mary chiefly as the key to a renewal of France's role in north-west Europe.³⁹ Attacks on Leicester would have been useful to this group, as a warning to Henry III against a premature alliance with England or a compromise with the Huguenots. This indeed seems to have been the intention behind the French translation and *Addicion* of 1585.

Persons was on the alert. His connections with Arundel and Lord Paget stretched back to the English mission: both were members of George Gilbert's Catholic Association of young Catholic gentlemen who rallied to the support of Persons and Campion.⁴⁰ Lord Paget hosted a meeting of notables addressed

34 McCoog, *The Society of Jesus*, p. 185 n. 30, and 197–198; see also 'Father Persons' Autobiography, 1546–1584,' ed. J.H. Pollen, in *CRS Miscellanea II*, p. 32.

35 Stephen Alford, *The watchers: A secret history of the reign of Elizabeth I* (2012; rpt London: Penguin, 2013), pp. 152–154, 176–177; John Bossy, *Under the molehill: An Elizabethan spy story* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 76; Eric St. John Brooks, *Sir Christopher Hatton: Queen Elizabeth's favourite* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1946), p. 246; Peck (introd.), *Leicester's Commonwealth*, p. 23, 58 n. 84.

36 L. Hicks, *An Elizabethan problem: Some aspects of the careers of two exile-adventurers* (London: Burns and Oates, 1964), pp. 118–121. Hicks's is the only detailed study of Morgan and Paget; like Francis Edwards, *Robert Persons: The biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit, 1546–1610* (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1995), *passim*, he is somewhat partisan.

37 Peck (introd.), *Leicester's Commonwealth*, p. 24; Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles*, p. 24. On Simier, see Martin, *Henry III and the Jesuit politicians*.

38 Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles*, pp. 68–69, citing Carroll, *Martyrs and murderers*, p. 249; cf. Leimon and Parker, 'Treason and plot,' p. 1145.

39 Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the embassy affair*, pp. 12–13.

40 Persons to Agazzari, 5 August and 17 November 1580 (*Letters and memorials*, pp. 41–56).

by Campion in July 1580, and was subsequently kept in custody in Windsor for fourteen weeks in an attempt by the Privy Council to convert him to the Church of England.⁴¹ Persons wrote to him to encourage him to remain firm in his resolution not to attend church. Moreover, Persons' printer Stephen Brinkley had been in Paget's employ.⁴² Persons now met Lord Paget at the Court of the Cordeliers, to try to maintain the ties with Morgan as well as the new arrivals.⁴³ But he was also beginning to worry about the difficulties he was having in corresponding with Mary, and he would have suspected Morgan.⁴⁴ He was already referring to the Morgan-Paget faction, and in July 1584 he wrote to Sir Francis Englefield about the growing disenchantment of the Marian party.⁴⁵ The letter suggests that the Guise enterprise was losing general support. Following the death of Anjou in June 1584, Henry III was preoccupied with the Navarre succession. The papacy and the Spanish monarchy were lukewarm. With Tassis, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, and the Prince of Parma, general of the Spanish forces in the Netherlands, delivering little for the cause, the Guise were pressing forward on their own account – and presumably Mendoza, about to be expelled from London, was also in a hurry. The Scottish lords' attention was focused on James. Mary's supporters in Paris were thus less and less enthusiastic about the Guise.

This was just the time of the composition of *Leicester's Commonwealth*. Persons was extremely wary of Morgan and Paget, although he was trying not to break with them entirely. As late as April 1585 he was carefully choosing his words in a letter to Agazzari, saying that although he differed from them in judgement, there was no reason for animosity between them, and he hoped they were well disposed towards him and the Society.⁴⁶ A further clue to the caution he was exercising towards Morgan and Paget is the figure of Thomas Fitzherbert. He had associated with Campion and Persons during the English

41 *Recusancy and conformity in early modern England*, ed. Ginevra Crosignani, Thomas M. McCoog, SJ and Michael Questier (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2010), pp. 116–117. See *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. John R. Dasent, et al. (46 vols, London: HMSO, 1890–1964), XII, 134, 157.

42 Edward Chambers to Persons, after 17 November 1580, ed. J.H. Pollen, in *CRS Miscellanea II*, CRS 2 (London: Catholic Record Society, 1906), pp. 179–180.

43 *CRS Miscellanea II*, pp. 31–32, *CRS Miscellanea IV*, p. 121.

44 Persons to Sir Francis Englefield, Paris, 24 July 1584 (*Letters and memorials*, pp. 224–226).

45 Persons to Agazzari, Paris, 21 January 1584 (*Letters and memorials*, pp. 197–198) and Persons to Englefield, 24 July 1584.

46 Persons to Agazzari, Masière, 3 April 1585, in 'Robert Parsons and Claudio Acquaviva: Correspondence,' ed. Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, *Archivum Historicum* 51, 68 (1999), pp. 79–182 (176–178).

mission, and had subsequently made his way to Rome. There he became a 'malcontent,' dissatisfied with the Jesuit administration of the English College. He returned to France in January 1584 and became part of Morgan's faction.⁴⁷ During the course of the year he must have involved himself in the production of *Leicester's Commonwealth*, as we have seen, so it is possible that Persons regarded him as a point of connection with Morgan. The project was drawing on a wide range of contributors and agents, linking together the different groupings within the exile community.

In the early summer of 1584, when *Leicester's Commonwealth* was being prepared for the press, the unity of the Catholic exiles was under threat. In time a serious rift would develop between the French party and the Spanish party, but at this point Persons hoped to be able to hold the community together. When he appropriated Arundel's material, he may have been hoping to keep the Arundel circle from falling entirely under Morgan's spell. The work could form part of a co-ordinated propaganda campaign, a polemical assault on Elizabeth's government, seeking concessions to the Catholics. He could indulge the disappointments and personal piques of the displaced Catholic court party and incorporate them into a programme of which this was only one element.

Leicester's Commonwealth as a Conversation amongst Exiles

What, then, are the implications of Persons' authorship? I would suggest that the dialogue form gives us two possible answers. In going beyond a mere editing of the Arundel papers, Persons was entering into a dialogue with the loyalist strain in English Catholicism. Just how deeply Arundel and Lord Paget were implicated in the Throckmorton plot it is hard to say, but the evidence suggests rather that they had loyalist sympathies. John Bossy names their associate Lord Henry Howard as the type of Elizabethan Catholic loyalism, and their connections with Stafford and even with Paget and Morgan suggest a wariness of the Guise conspiracy at the very least.⁴⁸ Now Persons, too, could speak the language of toleration, and he could do so by passionately endorsing the attack on Leicester, the 'evil counsellor.' He would pen an analogous diatribe in 1592, the so-called *Philopater*, under similar circumstances of persecution and accusations of Catholic susceptibility to treason. In the *Philopater* he would focus his attentions on Cecil, but he still had strong words for Leicester, words that

47 Persons to Agazzari, 21 January 1584.

48 Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the embassy affair*, pp. 117–125.

echoed the earlier pamphlet.⁴⁹ How deep was his imprint on *Leicester's Commonwealth*, how heavy his hand, it is impossible to tell, but I would argue that here we have a case of genuine collaboration and conversation between resistance and compromise, to use Holmes's familiar and useful terms, an awareness and even a respect for diversity of attitudes, to which the dialogue form is well attuned.⁵⁰

The dialogue of *Leicester's Commonwealth* does not directly conduct a conversation between Persons' militant view in conversation with that of Arundel and his circle. But in composing a dialogue amongst men who share a moderate Protestant and Catholic loyalism, Persons was able to engage with it and enter imaginatively into it. The challenge of accommodating such varying views seems to have stimulated his writerly powers. The dialogue's dramatic and rhetorical strengths are remarkable: we see a much more fully realised dramatic interchange than is found in most polemical dialogues. We are tempted to speculate what Persons might have done on the stage if he had not preferred the scaffold. And it raises a larger question. What do we make of these masks? Was he, as many believed, a master of dissimulation? I would suggest, instead, that he had the capacity demonstrated by the character he created, the Lawyer in *Leicester's Commonwealth*, who could adopt the tone and the attitude that the occasion required: Persons saw himself not as an opportunist, but as a man with a constant and resolved purpose, the restoration of the faith in England, negotiating a vexed, conflicted and shifting terrain. He must needs speak with many voices who contends with so many difficulties, so many unpredictable allies, so many languages, so many interests. Well might his critics call him *polipragmon*, the jack of all trades, with a finger in every pie.⁵¹ The word we might use instead is the dramatist, the master of dialogue, not so much a Jonsonian deceiver – with many faces, or flitting from one carcass to another, such as Face in *The Alchemist* or Mosca in *Volpone* – as imbued with some measure of Shakespearean empathy, a gift for entering the consciousness of a thousand men and women.

49 [Andreas Philopater, pseud.], *Elizabethae Angliae reginae edictum...cum responsione* (Antwerp: Richard Verstegan, 1592, etc.), paragraphs 8–18.

50 Peter Holmes, *Resistance and compromise: The political thought of the English Catholics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

51 W. Watson, Preface to *Important considerations*, by Thomas Bluet, sig. ***iv.

Goslicius' Englished Senator: An Anatomy of Manipulative Translation

Teresa Batuk-Ulewiczowa

Translation is a tool that has traditionally been resorted to by the manipulator, particularly the political or ideological manipulator. Its expediency rests in the fact that most recipients of translation treat a translated text with naïve trust. They think they are getting 'the original thing,' only flipped over into a language they can understand. This hardly ever happens, even with 'honest' translators, because of the inevitable cultural content with which virtually every text is laden and which somehow has to be negotiated and managed in the text's transposition into another language. But there is also a broad category of 'less than honest' translators and their patrons, commissioning parties, or publishers, who engage in translating a text in order to use it as a host for their own parasitical material, or alternatively to neutralise the aspects of the original they consider 'dangerous' and do not want their readers to access. I do not hesitate to say that nowadays this is common practice, particularly in political journalism, a worldwide web of infestation. But it is by no means a recent phenomenon, and the sixteenth-century, Counter-Reformation example I am going to present is a good case for its inveteracy.

Goslicius' *De Optimo Senatore* and Its Readership

Laurentius Grimalius Goslicius' political treatise *De Optimo Senatore* (first edition Venice, 1568)¹ was translated into English and published in London in 1598 as *The Counsellor* (1598).² The text of this English version is based on a

- 1 The full title is Laurentii Grimalii Goslicii *DE OPTIMO SENATORE LIBRI DVO. In quibus Magistratuum officia, Ciuium uita beata, Rerumpublicarum foelicitas explicantur. Opus plane aureum, summorum Philosophorum et Legislatorum doctrina refertum, Omnibus Respu. rite administrare cupientibus, non modo utile, sed apprime necessarium. Accessit locuples rerum toto Opere memorabilium Index. CUM PRIVILEGIO. VENETIIS, Apud Iordanum Zilettum, MDLXVIII* – hereafter the 'Ven.'
- 2 *The COVNSELLOR. Exactly pourtraited in two Bookes. WHEREIN THE OFFICES OF Magistrates, The happie life of Subiectes, and the felicitie of Common-weales is pleasantly and pithily*

translation extant in a manuscript dated 1584 now kept in the Ogden Collection in the library of University College, London.³ A comparison of this English translation with the original Latin shows that the treatise was pre-censored at the manuscript stage: very substantial and meaningful passages were omitted. An in-depth, 'anatomical' analysis of the omissions in their historical context provides salient clues as to the anonymous patrons behind this translation by an unknown translator, and their purposes for producing a bowdlerised Englished Senator. The perpetrators of this manipulative translation left their fingerprints on their work, and if we combine the philological analysis of their textual output with what we know about Elizabethan censorship and the historical developments of the times we will be able to read those fingerprints clearly enough even to identify some of the individuals who must have been involved in the scheme.

Goslicius wrote his treatise for a double – international and domestic – audience. On the Pan-European level it was a mirror of the ideal senator or statesman, the trusted counsellor to his monarch. An early modern modification of the traditional *de regimine principis* formula, it has been rightly qualified as an exemplar of sixteenth-century republicanism and on this count could well have attracted the attention of Englishmen sojourning in Venice or studying at the University of Padua at the time when Goslicius was a student there.⁴ But he interspersed his cosmopolitan

*discoursed. A GOLDEN WORKE, REPLENISHED with the chiefe Learning of the most excellent Philosophers and Lawgiuers, and not onely profitable, but verie necessarie for all those that be admitted to the administration of a well-gouerned Common-weale. Written in Latin, By LAVRENTIUS GRIMALDVS, and consecrated to the honour of the Polonian Emphyre. Newlie translated into English. London, Imprinted by Richard Bradocke, Anno Salutis Humanae M.D.XC.VIII – hereafter the 'L1598'. This article is a follow-up to Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, *Goslicius' Ideal Senator and his cultural impact over the centuries: Shakespearean reflections* (Kraków: PAU and UJ, 2009). Online: https://www.academia.edu/5260407/Goslicius_Ideal_Senator_and_His_Cultural_Impact_over_the_Centuries_Shakespearean_Reflections (accessed 25 February 2015). The table is reproduced from pp.141–146 in the book.*

- 3 *The Counsellor. Wherin the Offices off Magistrates, The happie life of Subiects & the felicitie off common weales is discoursed: Written by L.G. Goslicius of Polonia. [4 lines erased: ?Written in the... (?) by Laurentius Grimalius (?)] Anno 1587 (dates at end of Book I and II respectively: FINIS LIBRI PRIMI APRILIS ixxo Anno 1584; Finis Maij xxiiij Anno Dñi 1584) – Ms. Ogden 14, c.k. Ogden Library, University College Special Collections – hereafter 'The Ogden Manuscript.'*
- 4 Markku Peltonen, *Classical humanism and republicanism in English political thought, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 49, 102–103, 108, 111, 178. Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, 'Goslicius' treatise of the Ideal Senator: The Englishman's epitome of Polish republicanism,' *Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Europejskiej im. Ks. Józefa Tischnera Kultura i Polityka* 9 (2011), pp. 89–106.

Latin with numerous asides to a Polish audience, addressing political issues taking place at the time on the home front. He sided with a specific faction, and his partisanship would have been absolutely legible to his compatriot readers, but not to outsiders, or at least they would have read his message in a different way. Which is what happened in the case of his English recipients (and there appears to be a link with the University of Cambridge).⁵

Goslicius was already a graduate of the University of Kraków and an ordained priest when he arrived in Padua, studying under, or seeking, the patronage of Piotr Myszkowski, Bishop of Kraków, whom he eulogises in his treatise. His ecclesiastical ambitions are clear enough in *De Optimo Senatore*, and indeed, after his return to Poland he embarked on a career in the Church, eventually becoming one of the principal bishops of the Polish Counter-Reformation.⁶ Not surprisingly, therefore, there is a long passage in the book in defence of the Catholic bishops. It relates to the status of the hierarchs in the secular affairs of the State, and in particular to the precedence of the Catholic bishops in the Senate of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which had come under attack from the predominantly Protestant Lower House of the Parliament. One of the points of contention was whether the ecclesiastical courts had jurisdiction over Non-Catholics. The tussle between the spiritual and lay estate was part of a greater constitutional conflict between the Senate and Sejm (the lower house) which had been going on for several decades but reached a head in the 1560s. By the time Goslicius published his treatise the Upper House, and particularly the ecclesiasts who sat in its front row, had lost on many of the issues and were forced to make concessions to the boisterous deputies of the Sejm. So Goslicius' eulogy was more like an apology for the spiritual Senators. The situation was temporary; propelled by the success of the Counter-Reformation the Catholic Church managed to recover much of what it had lost both in terms of spiritual and temporal power in Goslicius' lifetime.

5 Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, 'Goslicius' *Senator* and the prehistory of its reception in Elizabethan England,' in M. Kleban and E. Willim (eds.) *PASE Papers in Linguistics* (Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press, 2013), pp. 13–15.

6 As Bishop of Przemyśl at the time, Goslicius was one of the contributors to the creation of the Union of Brześć (Brest) of 1595–1596, whereby the Uniate (Greek) Catholic Church in communion with Rome but with an Eastern rite was established on the Eastern territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The Motives for the Ogden Manuscript Translation

I am now going to put the cart before the horse, and explain the ‘who,’ the ‘why’ and the ‘wherefore’ behind the translation of Goslicius in the Ogden manuscript before I present the philological evidence, the dissected original text and its translation.

The cuts and changes in the translation are such that all direct reference to Rome, apostolic succession and Catholic dogma have been excised, as might be expected. Indeed, the censor seems to have taken additional precautions, trimming away a ‘safety net’ of what might in retrospect appear to have been innocuous material around the forbidden kernel (pontiffs, apostolic succession, the four new Tridentine regulations, vituperation against ‘change of religion’). For instance, the reference to the pagan custom of animal sacrifice has been erased from the translation, presumably in an anxious effort to avoid even the remotest allusion to the Catholic dogma of the Eucharistic sacrifice of the Mass. In another paraphrased sentence the translator has obliterated the original reference to the Polish practice of celebrating the Mass of the Holy Spirit before the start of a session of Sejm – a custom which the Protestants wanted to abolish. Presumably this point would not have had much meaning in the English parliamentary context.

But what has been left reads like a defence of an established Church, especially its hierarchy and its authority in the secular matters of the state. It is not difficult to reach a conclusion that this rump translation, set in the context of Elizabethan England in the early 1580s, sounds like a refutation of the Presbyterian arguments against the authority of the established Anglican Church. John Whitgift, the deeply committed leader of the Anglican apologetic campaign, was appointed to the See of Canterbury in August 1583 – a matter of months before the dates recorded in the Ogden manuscript – and significantly, he was yet another Cambridge man, having been Professor of Divinity from 1563, Master of Pembroke Hall and later of Trinity, and Vice-Chancellor in 1570. He was also the Queen’s chaplain and a privy counsellor. And he was the first Archbishop of Canterbury to acquire the right to exercise censorship over all materials going to print, as we learn from his biographer John Strype.⁷ Only a translator who was proficient in the theological debates of the time could have pre-censored the problematic sentences skilfully enough

7 John Strype, *The life and acts of John Whitgift, D.D., the third and last Lord Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Queen Elizabeth*. 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1822). See especially Book IV, Chapter VIII (II. 120–128) on the English Parliament against the bishops’

to obtain the expedient cut-out we get in the Ogden manuscript. Moreover, since Goslicius employed arguments borrowed directly from the documents of the Council of Trent (which had closed in 1563), it is inconceivable that any of Elizabeth's subjects except a trusted Anglican apologist would have been allowed access to such materials. The conclusion which may be drawn is twofold: first, that the translation of *De Optimo Senatore* preserved in the Ogden manuscript and printed as *The Counsellor* nearly fifteen years later must have been done at least with the knowledge and consent of, or more likely on commission from, Archbishop Whitgift. And secondly, that Goslicius' treatise may have been deliberately selected for translation to serve as a refutation of Presbyterian assertions.

Strype gives a detailed account of the parliamentary campaign against the temporal power of the Anglican hierarchy. His description of speeches delivered for and against the bishops in February 1592 almost exactly mirrors similar events that had occurred in the Polish Sejm nearly thirty years earlier, and were alluded to in Goslicius' defence of ecclesiastical power and jurisdiction in the state. In particular, Strype tells us that the debate was conducted not only orally on the floor of the House, but also in print:

In the month of February the Parliament sat. And therein the Puritan party did again make a vigorous effort against the hierarchy, as was expected. And a book now appeared, the better to serve their purpose, written (or rather owned and patronized) by Sir Francis Knollys, against the *superiority* of Bishops, whereof some notice hath been taken before: no question now dispersed, as much as might be, that the Commons might be the more prejudiced against that order. Which book the said Knight had also sent to the Lord Treasurer, to prepossess him, if he could.⁸

For some reason the maimed translation of Goslicius, which would have provided a perfect rebuttal of this polemic, was not published in 1592 (though it might have circulated in manuscript form, such as the surviving Ogden copy). The debate between the Puritans and the Anglican hierarchy had been going on for several decades, and Knollys the antagonist of episcopal power had already corresponded on the matter with Whitgift and with Burghley in 1584:

courts (February 1592). <https://archive.org/stream/lifeandactsjohn07strygoog#page/n136/mode/2up/search/120>, accessed 25 February 2015.

8 Strype, *The life*, 11.121.

In a letter of 20 June 1584 he [Knollys] hotly condemned the archbishop's attempts to prosecute puritan preachers in the court of high commission as unjustly despotic, and treading 'the highway to the pope.' . . . On 24 May 1584 he sent to Burghley a bitter attack on 'the undermining ambition and covetousness of some of our bishops,' and on their persecutions of the puritans.⁹

Yet the question arises why *The Counsellor* had not been published earlier – soon after the translation was completed, but languished in manuscript copy (or copies) until 1598. A sequence of events known as the Martin Marprelate controversy occurred in the late 1580s making its publication politically inopportune (for the established Anglican hierarchy) at that time. The expediency of the lofty and cultivated style of an expurgated Goslicius was rendered null and void by the appearance of eight samizdat tracts in a vitriolic Presbyterian campaign against the authority of the Anglican hierarchy. Goslicius' civilised rhetoric was no longer the right material to answer Martin Marprelate's rabid satire. It was 'Martin' that marred Goslicius' chances of publication in English around the turn of the 1580s and 1590s, and the only question outstanding is why the Anglican apologists had delayed with publication, if the translation was good enough to be copied in an elaborate manuscript by the spring of 1584.¹⁰

A Critical Reading of the English Translation of *De Optimo Senatore*

In the table below I present Goslicius' original Latin text on Divine Justice in the left-hand column, and the Ogden ms./L1598 English translation in the right-hand column in roman (with the original spelling). The italicised text is my own translation of the sentences omitted in the Ogden manuscript and 1598 publication.

9 Sidney Lee (ed.), 'Knollys, Francis,' *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885–1900, XXXI. 277–278. Citation in inverted commas from *Hatfield MSS.* iii. 35, 412–413. Online http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Knollys,_Francis_%28DNB00%29, accessed 25 February 2015.

10 For more on the Martin Marprelate controversy, cf. Elizabeth Appleton, *An Anatomy of the Marprelate Controversy 1588–1596 – Retracing Shakespeare's Identity and That of Martin Marprelate* (Lampeter: Edward Mellen Press, 2001).

TABLE 11.1 A Comparative Table of the passage on Divine Justice in Goslicius' *De Optimo Senatore* (Venice, 1568) and *The Counsellor* (the Ogdan MS./L1598)

Ven. ff. 53r–55v	L1598 pp. 99–100 (the same text appears in Ogdan ms. 14)
1 Ea vero Iustitia quae ad Deos pertinet, qua obligamur a natura Deum agnoscere, colere, reuereri, amare, venerari, solius est hominis propria.	That Iustice which belongeth vnto God, and whereby we are by nature bound to acknowledge, worship, reuerence, loue and honour him, is onely proper to men.
2 Sic enim naturae visum est rerum omnium procreatrici, ut in solius hominis animum imprimeret notionem Dei: caetera animalia deliceret ad pastum, cibum et pabula.	And it hath pleased nature, the mother of all things, that in the minde of man onely the knowledge of God should be impressed: leauing all other creatures to eate, feede, and pamper their bodies.
3 [f. 53v] Solus igitur homo ex tot animantium generibus est inuentus, cui diuini nominis cultum, reuerentiam, honorem, uenerationem natura concedidit.	Man onely is that creature among enumerable others, to whom the honour, reuerence, a[n]d worship of God is committed.
4 Vnde nulla gens in hoc orbe reperitur, quae Deos non habere modo, sed etiam colere putet iustum, honestum et necessarium.	No people therefore inhabiting the circle of the earth, but honoureth some God: which they thinke a thing honest, iust, and necessarie.
5 Est enim hominum et Dei societas, quadam naturali necessitudine et beneuolentia conglutinata, quae diuelli nequeat, quaeque homines ex Deo nati sint, propterea hunc tanquam patrem colunt et uenerantur.	The societie of God and men is by a certain naturall necessitie and beneuolence conioyned, and cannot be broken, as though men were borne of God, and therefore him they worship and reuerence as a father.
6 Cultus autem Dei optimus sit necesse est, idemque purissimus, atque sanctissimus, plenissimusque pietatis: ut scilicet eum casta, integra, incorrupta mente et uoce ueneremur.	It behoueth that the honour giuen to God, should be most pure, most holy and full of pietie, that is, we should honour him with a chast, intire and incorrupt minde.
7 Pietatis nostrae et sanctitatis in Deum vis omnis, in religione consistit: quae est virtus colendi Dei scientiam continens.	All the substance and force of holines and pietie, consisteth in religion: which is a vertue conteyning the knowledge how God should be honoured.

TABLE II.1 A Comparative Table of the passage on Divine Justice in *Goslicius' De Optimo Senatore* (Venice, 1568) and *The Counsellor* (the *Ogden MS./L1598*) (cont.)

Ven. ff. 53r–55v		L1598 pp. 99–100 (the same text appears in <i>Ogden ms. 14</i>)	
8	Haec autem in eo consistit, ut doceat meritam Diis immortalibus gratiam, iustis honoribus et sancta mente persolvere.	By it we are also enformed how to render vnto him thanks with true honour and holy minde.	
9	Ab ea religiosi et sancti dicuntur, qui in deligendo et quasi religendo cultu diuino versantur.	Hereof men are called religious and holy, because they loue, and (as it were) binde themselves to do deuine honour.	
10	Tales in christiana Rep[ublica] sacerdotes et pontifices sunt, quibus a superis propagandae, et mentibus hominum infundendae religionis est concessa potestas: e quorum manibus rationem omnem colendi et uenerandi Dei, tanquam ab ipso Deo porrectam recipimus: sunt illi praenuncii Deorum, ac interpretes legis, uoluntatisque diuinae.	OMITTED <i>In the Christian Republic such are the priests and pontiffs, who from their predecessors have received the power to propagate religion and fill the minds of men with it; from whose hands we receive in full the manner in which God is to be praised and worshipped, as if bestowed by God Himself; they are God's messengers and the interpreters of the diuine law and will.</i>	
11	In religione suscipienda, caput est scire, et intelligere, qui Deus, quae uoluntas illius, quae cerimonia in eo colendo fieri debeat: hoc enim ad iustitiam Deorum iuste exercendam imprimis pertinet: atque is finis est felicitatis humanae, cuius gratia homo a Deo creatus est.	OMITTED <i>In the practice of religion the most important thing is to know God and His will, and what ceremonies are to be performed to worship Him; this above all belongs to the proper exercise of diuine justice, the aim of which is the achievement of human happiness, for which Man has been created by God.</i>	
12	Summi Dei cognitionem uoluntatemque, ac eius colendi modum, patefecit nobis Iesus Christus veri Dei natus, qui Remp[ublicam] suam, hoc est Ecclesiam, non solum legibus huiusmodi, sed etiam magistratibus instituit, moribusque a diuina mente profectis informauit: magistratus in Repub[lica] su[a], magnam vim et auctoritatem esse uoluit: eos enim suae diuinitatis uicarios eff[icit]: apud hos solos iudicia, religionem,	OMITTED <i>The manner in which God wants and is to be worshipped has been divulged to us by Jesus Christ, Son of the True God, who founded His Republic, that is the Church, not only on the grounds of His laws, but also by means of a magistracy [= ministry], confirming it with a manner of conduct derived from the diuine mind. He wanted this magistracy in His Republic to be endowed with great power and authority, and made His ministers the vicars of His diuinity. In them only is invested the power</i>	

leges tam ueteres decem tabularum, quam nouas quattuor deposuit: ut omnes hi, qui ueram religionem scire, ac iuste, pie, sancte, Deum colere uelint non ab aliis, quam his haec omnia peterent.

13 [f.54r] Lege etiam prohibuit, ne alios, quam hos, speculatores uoluntatis diuinae haberemus: nec aliis ullo modo auscultare-mus: hos enim solos iustitiae diuinae interpretes, ac sacrarum legum latores constituit.

14 Quemadmodum igitur in ciuili Repub[lica] ius ac iustitiam omnem a magistratibus accipimus: sic in hac nostra Chris-tiana Repub[lica] religionem, fidem, pietatem, ac iustitiam in Deum, a magistratibus, hoc est a sacerdotibus, Pontificibusue capere debemus.

15 Qui ius sibi priuata licentia in Repub[lica] constituunt, neque id a magistratibus ad hoc destinatis recipiunt, quin etiam cuncta contemnunt, respuunt, abiiciunt: hi perduelliones, seditiosi, et scelerati in Repub[lica] ciues habentur, hosque supplicio, infamia, exilio, nece, morte dignos iudicamus, atque e Repub[lica] exterminamus.

16 Quid dicendum est de his, qui in aliam ciuitatem et Rempub[licam] fugiunt, alias religiones quaerunt, patriae, hoc est Ecclesiae, in qua sunt nati ac educati, leges, pietatem, fidem contemnunt, spernunt, despiciunt, maluntque in aliena patria exules quam in sua ciues uocari?

to pronounce judgements; to them He entrusted the ministration of religion and the laws, both the ancient Ten Commandments and the four new regulations; so that all who wish to know the true religion and worship God justly, devoutly and in a holy manner for all these things should turn to none other but to them.

OMITTED Furthermore, in His law He laid down an injunction prohibiting us from having any other ministers of the divine will and from listening to any others whatsoever, making only the above-mentioned the interpreters of divine justice and legislators of the divine law.

OMITTED Therefore, just as in the secular Republic we receive all our laws and justice from the hands of the magistrates, so in this our Christian Com-monwealth we should take our religion, faith, piety and divine justice from its magistrates, that is from its priests and Pontiffs.

OMITTED Those in the Republic who by private licence take the law into their own hands, refusing to have it administered by the appointed magis-trates, and even go so far as to reject, despise and condemn their authority, are to be accounted criminals, seditious and evil citizens of the Republic. Such people we deem deserving of punishment, infamy, banishment, and death, and we exclude them from the Republic.

OMITTED What is to be said of those who flee to another country and Re-public in search of other religions, rejecting, spurning and despising their home country, that is the Church, her laws, piety, and the faith in which they were born and brought up, preferring to be an exile in a strange land rather than citizens in their own?

TABLE 11.1 *A Comparative Table of the passage on Divine Justice in Goslicius' De Optimo Senatore (Venice, 1568) and The Counsellor (the Ogdan MS./L1598) (cont.)*

Ven. ff. 53r–55v	L1598 pp. 99–100 (the same text appears in Ogdan ms. 14)
17 Religionis profecto uiolatae culpa, iusta excusatione carere putanda est.	OMITTED <i>There can be no justifiable grounds to exculpate the crime of the subversion of religion.</i>
18 Nulla pestis capitalior est ad evertendum Reipub[licae] statum, quam religionis mutatio: verumque illud est quod Tullius dixit: Turbata religione, turbati totam Rempub[licam] nec id quidem immerito.	OMITTED <i>No affliction is a surer means for the subversion of the Republic than a change of religion; indeed the words of Cicero are very true, that if religion is subverted, so too is the Republic, and not without warrant.</i>
19 Cum enim Deorum cura, gratia, prouidentia, omnis Respub[lica] conseruatur, eiusque conseruationis causa est religio, quae nos Deo inuicem obstringit et obligat, adeo ut nos illi cultum, ille nobis felicitatem, et in rebus omnibus prosperitatem, tanquam ex pacto debeat: sequitur ut mutata in Deum religione, mutari cultum necesse sit, permutato cultu, commutari animos: quibus uariatis, inconstantia et chaos quoddam religionum, ac deinde contemptus Dei nascatur: ex qua conuersione, Deum iratum, et infensum experiamur, qui nos mutatos, ac in praecipitium abiectos deserit.	OMITTED <i>For as every Republic is preserved by the protection, grace and providence of God, that protection coming about as a result of religion, which ties and binds us inseparably to God, obliging us to honour Him, while He in return as it were by a contract endows us with happiness and prosperity; so it follows that if religion is changed there must be a change in the form of worship, and whenever the divine worship is changed, mentalities are changed as well. And the alteration of minds breeds religious instability and chaos, ultimately leading to the contempt of God, as a result of which we incur His wrath for our unsteadiness, causing Him to forsake us in the precipice.</i>
20 Fauet enim pietati, fideique Deus, hisque duobus regna semper ad fastigium extollit.	God fauoureth pietie and faith and in respect of them extolleth kingdomes.
21 Omnia prospera sequentibus Deos, aduersa spernentibus eueniunt.	All things doe prosper with those that obey God, and euerie thing decayeth in the hands of others, that honour him not.
22 Religionis praeterea in animo tanta uis est, ut eius munere credant se homines virtutes omnes assequi, in illisque retinendis, non minus constantes quam religiosos effici.	Moreouer, religion is of such force, as through it, men are indued with all vertues, and in retaining them, are made no lesse constant then religious.

In him that honoureth God, there groweth a constant, true and inuent-able harmonie of vertues: For whoseouer doth honour him religiously is prudent, and temperate, which vertues are so tyed vnto religion, as by no possible meanes they may be sundered.

A constant religion doth worke a firme continuance of laws, customes, vertues, and commonweale it selfe.

REST OF SENTENCE OMITTED *Whenever mankind changes his religion, change is effected in him as well, bringing about the inevitable abolition of virtue, law, and custom, the subversion of which in turn leads to the disruption of life and the confounding of all things, hence giving rise to seditions and discord, ill-will, hatred, wars, and finally the downfall of the Republic.*

OMITTED *For how are the seditious, unjust and impious, in conflict with one another, to treat of peace, concord, justice and religion?*

OMITTED *What justice and faith, and what kind of society can there be in a Republic in which religion and religious devotion have been subverted?*

OMITTED *How shall he who is not faithful to God keep faith to his fellow man? If he is inconstant in religion, how can he be true to his word, trust-*

worthy in his deeds and in keeping his commitments?

OMITTED *Can the Republic really expect those who are up in arms against religion, faith, and conscience to preserve the peace?*

OMITTED *It is a desirable thing for the Republic to keep its religion pure and holy, and never to change it, but to preserve it without change.*

OMITTED *All change in the Republic is bad, but a change of religion is the worst of all.*

23 [f. 54v] Qui enim Deum colit, virtutum in eo crescit constans, vera, et immutabilis harmonia: iustus siquidem, prudens, temperans quisque est in eo religiose colendo; quae virtutes ita religioni sunt alligatae, ut ab ea diuelli nullo modo queant.

24 Constans igitur religio, legum, consuetudinum, uirtutum, ipsiusque Reipub[licae] perpetuitatem efficit: quae ubi est in hominibus mutata, eorum mutationem inducit, cum qua et virtutem, et leges, et mores tolli necesse est: quibus sublati perturbatio vitae sequitur, et omnis confusio: vnde seditiones discordiae, inimicitiae, odia, bella, ad extremum interitus Reipub[licae] consequuntur.

25 Quomodo enim de pace, concordia, iustitia, religione, tractabunt seditiosi, discordes, iniusti, impii?

26 Quae uero iustitia potest esse in ciuitate, et [in] Repub[lica] quae fides, et societas humani generis, pietate, et religione aduersum Deos sublata?

27 Fidem quis Deo non seruat, quomodo seruabit homini? inconstans in religione est, quomodo stabilis in dictis, factis, pactisue seruandis erit?

28 Pax in Repub[lica] expetitur, quae uero ab his sperari potest, qui cum religione, fide, conscientia belligerant?

29 Optandum est Reipub[licae] vti religionem puram et sanctam habeat, nec eam immutet vnquam, sed retineat constanter.

30 Omnis enim in Repub[lica] mutatio mala est, ac religionis pessima.

TABLE 11.1 *A Comparative Table of the passage on Divine Justice in Goslicius' De Optimo Senatore (Venice, 1568) and The Counsellor (the Ogden MS, L1598) (cont.)*

Ven. ff. 53r–55v	L1598 pp. 99–100 (the same text appears in Ogden ms. 14)
31 Quot Regna propter religionem mutatam, aut afflicta nimis, aut eversa misere sunt?	OMITTED <i>How many Kingdoms have been afflicted with many troubles, or wretchedly overthrown owing to a change of religion?</i>
32 Graecia certe cum Latinis dissentiens, non modo religionem, sed libertatem et linguam amisit, Turcisque est ignominiose subiecta.	OMITTED <i>When Greece dissented and split away from the Latins, not only did she lose her religion, but also her language and her liberty, and was ignominiously enthralled by the Turks.</i>
33 Iam Germaniae sanguinem, quis non potius deplorandum, quam commemorandum malit?	OMITTED <i>Who is there that would not deplore rather than remember the blood of Germany [spilled recently]?</i>
34 Caetere gentes pro religione bella suscipiunt; haec contra religionem armis correptis, tota se proprio cruore conspersit et contaminauit.	OMITTED <i>Other peoples have [also] waged wars on account of religion; having seized arms against religion, Germany has stained and spoiled herself completely with her own gore.</i>
35 Taceo Galliam et Flandriam; quae ex recenti vulnere nondum conualuerunt.	OMITTED <i>I shall not speak of France and Flanders, which have still not recovered from their recent wounds.</i>
36 Praetereo alia regna, quae religionis mutatae poenas, propriis hucusque gestant ceruicibus.	OMITTED <i>I pass over other kingdoms in silence, which to this day carry the penalties resulting from change of religion around their necks.</i>
37 Nihil peraeque mentes obcaecat, ac excerbatas amentes, uerba cordes reddit, quam temeritas ex mutata religione concepta.	OMITTED <i>There is nothing that blinds people's minds, exasperating and casting them into insanity, as much as the temerity that comes from change of religion.</i>
38 Quare omni quidem magistratui, sed maxime sacerdoti publico curandum est, ne nouae religiones, in Remp[ublicam] inducantur, inductae damnentur, impiae iudicentur, atque cum suis aut[h]oribus exterminentur, euellantur, extirpentur.	OMITTED <i>Therefore all magistrates, but especially the clergy should see to it that no new religions are introduced in the Republic, and any that are should be denounced and declared impious; and the ministers of religion should exercise their authority to remove, eliminate, and extirpate such new religions along with their creators.</i>

39 [f. 55r] Senatorem nostrum de Deo et religione, decet habere
non errantem et uagam, sed stabilem certamque sententiam:
hoc enim fundamentum eius sapientiae, uirtutis, et dignitatis
fuerit.

40 Fluctuantem in religione et uacillantem, Senatu prohibemus:
nihil enim in sancto Reipub[licae] consilio Deo aduersum,
religioni contrarium, fidei repugnans esse debet: omnia
constantia, sincera, sancta, pura sint et religiosa.

41 Propterea sanctus Senatus dicitur quod ea quae sancit, non
modo apud ciues, sed etiam apud Deum sancta iudicari
debent.

42 Quare et locus in quem Senatus conuenit sacer iudicari debet,
eiusque celebritate et sanctitate Senatores, ab illicitis alienos
esse consiliis et cogitationibus oportet.

43 Romani Senatum habituri, Deo illi in cuius templo Senatus
erat coactus, adolebant thus, et immolabant hostiam.

44 Christianis mos alius est sequendus, a Deoque sunt illis agendi
semper capienda primordia, supplicationesque instituendae
piaae, sanctae, et religiosas.

It behooueth our Counsellor therefore, to haue no wauering or
mutable, but a stable and certaine beliefe of God and religion, for that is
the foundation of his wisdom, virtue, and dignitie.

Neither should any Senator be admitted to counsell, whose religion is
inconstant or vnsetled. For in counsell nothing ought be done contrarie
to religion, or against God: but euerie thing performed with constancie,
synceritie, holinesse, and religious meaning.

Therefore a Senate is called sacred: because all things in it done, are
reputed holy: not onely among men, but before God also.

The place also wherein the Senate doth assemble, is accounted holy: sith
euerie Senator ought (with reuerence,) to lay a side all vnlawfull coun-
sels and euill cogitations.

The Romanes going to Counsell offered Frankensense [OMITTED: and
immolated a sacrificial animal], to that God in whose temple the Senate
was assembled.

PARAPHRASED OR MISTRANSLATED

But the Christians ought obserue other customes, for all their
praiers and supplications, should be to obtaine grace and goodnesse
from the almightie God, because their praiers onely are holy, and
religious.

*But Christians ought to observe a different custom, always beginning
their proceedings [=in parliament] by turning to God in devout,
religious, and holy prayer.*

TABLE 11.1 *A Comparative Table of the passage on Divine Justice in Goslicius' De Optimo Senatore (Venice, 1568) and The Counsellor (the Ogden MS./L1598) (cont.)*

Ven. ff. 53r–55v	L1598 pp. 99–100 (the same text appears in Ogden ms. 14)
45 Itaque Senatori prauam de religione opinionem habere, non modo indignum, sed impium, sacrilegum, et sceleratum putandum est.	Thus it appeareth, that false or vnsetled religion in Counsellors, is not onely accounted euill and vnworthie but also impious and wicked.
46 Quemadmodum uero qui philosophantur, Peripateticis ante alios adhaerendum putant, quod hi melius de Philosophia, ac de omni uitae genere recte instituendo sentire creduntur; ita Senator uerae religionis instituta, non a Graecis, sed a Latinis sumenda putabit: litteras enim illa natio docte et sapienter, religionem nunquam syncere coluit.	OMITTED <i>While those who engage in true philosophy are of the opinion that the Peripatetics are to be followed before all others, since their ideas and teachings on philosophy and all aspects of life are considered the best; likewise the Senator shall hold that the true religion is to be sought from the Latins and not from the Greeks, the latter being wise and learned in letters, but never sincere in religion.</i>
47 Quare Latinam religionem, hoc est Romanam amplectatur: haec enim et Dei maximi testimonio, et sanctorum uiro- rum exemplis, et perpetua haereditariaque Apostolorum suc- cessione, atque adeo omnium gentium consensu uera, sancta, sincera iudicatur: nullaue alia nec fuit, nec est, nec erit, fierique potest uerior, sanctior, syncerior.	OMITTED <i>Therefore the Latin, that is the Roman religion is to be adhered to, which by the testimony of God, the examples of the saints, by its contin- uing Apostolic succession and the mutual accord of all peoples is adjudged true, holy, and sincere; and no other religion has ever been, is, shall be or may become truer, holier, or more sincere.</i>
48 Huic qui sunt contrarii, aliaque religionum diuerticula et latibula quaerunt, non modo Rerumpub[licarum] sed Deorum et hominum hostes perniciosissimi iudicandi sunt.	OMITTED <i>Any who are against it and seek the nooks and crannies of other religions are to be accounted not only the most dangerous enemies of the Republics but also of God and mankind.</i>
49 Orandos autem Deos esse puto, uti tandem probata suorum perseuerantia, punitaque deliquentium inconstantia, reuer- tantur ad nos, Resquepu[blicae] pristinae et auitae religioni, fidei, iustitiae restituant.	OMITTED <i>Therefore I believe we should pray God, whose patience has been tried, that as soon as He has exacted punishment on the offenders for their inconstancy, He may deign to look upon us again and restore us and our Republics to our old and pure religion, faith, and justice.</i>
50 [f. 55v] Sed de iustitia diuina haec satis sint dicta.	But of diuine Iustice let this we haue said, suffice.

Another short but salient omission regarding religion occurs in the translation on p. 88 (corresponding to Ven. f. 47v), in which England is mentioned in a list of countries recently afflicted by religious disturbances. A further omission of the same kind involves a sentence on f. 42r-v (L1598 p. 80).

The observation of all these discrepancies between the translation and the original text permits us to draw a few very important conclusions. First, the omissions from the passage on Divine Justice are formulated in the spirit (and some of them in the letter) of the decrees of the Council of Trent, which condemned the Protestant Reformation and reaffirmed the Roman Catholic claim to the exclusive inheritance of the apostolic legacy. For comparison, here are a few citations from Waterworth's translation of the decree issued at the Council's 23rd session (15 July 1563) on the institution of the Priesthood of the New Law:

Sacrifice and priesthood are, by the ordinance of God, in such wise conjoined, as that both have existed in every law. Whereas, therefore, in the New Testament, the Catholic Church has received, from the institution of Christ, the holy visible sacrifice of the Eucharist; it must needs also be confessed, that there is, in that Church, a new, visible, and external priesthood, into which the old has been translated. And the sacred Scriptures show, and the tradition of the Catholic Church has always taught, that this priesthood was instituted by the same Lord our Saviour, and that to the apostles, and their successors in the priesthood, was the power delivered of consecrating, offering, and administering His Body and Blood, as also of forgiving and of retaining sins.

. . . forasmuch as in the sacrament of Order, as also in Baptism and Confirmation, a character is imprinted, which can neither be effaced nor taken away; the holy Synod with reason condemns the opinion of those, who assert that the priests of the New Testament have only a temporary power; and that those who have once been rightly ordained, can again become laymen, if they do not exercise the ministry of the word of God. And if any one affirm, that all Christians indiscriminately are priests of the New Testament, or that they are all mutually endowed with an equal spiritual power, he clearly does nothing but confound the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

. . . If any one saith, that, in the Catholic Church there is not a hierarchy by divine ordination instituted, consisting of bishops, priests, and ministers; let him be anathema.

... If any one saith, that the bishops, who are assumed by authority of the Roman Pontiff, are not legitimate and true bishops, but are a human figment; let him be anathema.¹¹

It is clear from the above that Goslicius' argument refers directly to the concept of the priesthood propounded by the Council a few years prior to his writing. These ideas must have circulated widely in the interim, reaching not only Catholics and especially men like Goslicius with prospects of making a career in the Church. They must also have been familiar to Protestant leaders. The suppression of precisely these matters in L1598 means that the pre-censoring must have been done by a person in authority and with the knowledge of the Catholic doctrine approved at Trent, possibly someone who had access to the Council's documents. At present we cannot say whether the pre-censoring editor also did the translation, or whether he delegated the pre-censored text to a translator. However, we do know that the expunging had already been conducted by the stage of the Ogden manuscript, dated by its copyist to April and May of 1584, in which all the above-cited passages appear exactly as they would in the 1598 printed version.

11 J. Waterworth (ed. and trans.), *The Council of Trent. The Twenty-Third Session. The canons and decrees of the sacred and oecumenical Council of Trent* (London: Dolman, 1848), pp. 170–192. <http://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent/ct23.html>, accessed 25 February 2015.

PART 3

Crossing National Borders of Censorship



A Cosmopolitan Book: Edmund Campion's *Rationes Decem*

Gerard Kilroy

Edmund Campion's *Rationes Decem* was a book produced secretly in an attic, printed with insufficient font on paper shipped up river to Henley, and distributed by night in 1581. Over the next hundred years it was published in some ninety different editions across Europe, including three early editions printed in Vilnius, and was being used to teach theology and rhetoric in Kraków two hundred and fifty years later. One of only five copies surviving of the original edition has recently re-appeared. By a miracle of benign neglect, it is still in its original (now fragile) parchment binding, a manuscript of a lease of land to the Bellamy family of Harrow. This copy, where the pages measure 100×140 mm, was preserved by successive parish priests (at least as far back as Canon Gunning, in 1909) of St Peter's Roman Catholic Church, Winchester, now part of the Parish of Hampshire Downs. It was stab-stitched, cut professionally, but untrimmed later. When I examined the copy (now on loan to Stonor Park), I realised that this damaged and thumbled copy provides information that transforms the way we should think about this text.¹

- 1 Edmund Campion, *Rationes Decem: quibus fretus, certamen adversarijs obtulit in causa fidei, Edmundus Campianus* ([Stonor Park: S. Brinkley et al., 1581]), STC 4536.5, ARCR I. 135.1 (all references are to this edition). The other copies, now trimmed and re-bound, have shadows of the stitching holes, and are in the library of the Marquess of Bute, Stonyhurst College, Campion Hall, and Durham University Library (transferred from Bamburgh Castle). STC in 1986 listed them as follows: 'O³⁷ [Campion Hall]. BUTE. DUR. (Bamb.) ST [Stonyhurst]. W [St Edmund's Ware].' David Rogers, apparently misled by STC, lists the Winchester copy as 'W (formerly WN⁴).' The great Jesuit scholar, John Hungerford Pollen, was aware of only two copies when he wrote, 'Blessed Edmund Campion's "Decem Rationes,"' in *The Month* 105 (1905), pp. 11–26. Four years later, he became aware of the 'new discovery,' and wrote a short additional note, 'Campion's *Decem Rationes*,' *The Month* 114 (1909), p. 80. He discusses all three copies in his *Campion's Ten Reasons* (London: Manresa Press, 1914), p. 18. Evelyn Waugh took his information from Pollen, see Donat Gallagher, 'Five Editions of Evelyn Waugh's *Edmund Campion*,' in *The Book Collector* 61.4 (2012), pp. 531–549 (p. 536), who quotes the American edition of Waugh's life to explain the origins of the Campion Hall copy, found in 1936 in 'the sixpenny box of a second-hand bookseller'; Waugh remained unaware of the copy then still in Bamburgh Castle (transferred to Durham University Library in 1938), as David Rogers pointed out in a letter to *The Tablet*, 5 May 1962, p. 534. E.E. Reynolds, as late as 1980, *Campion*

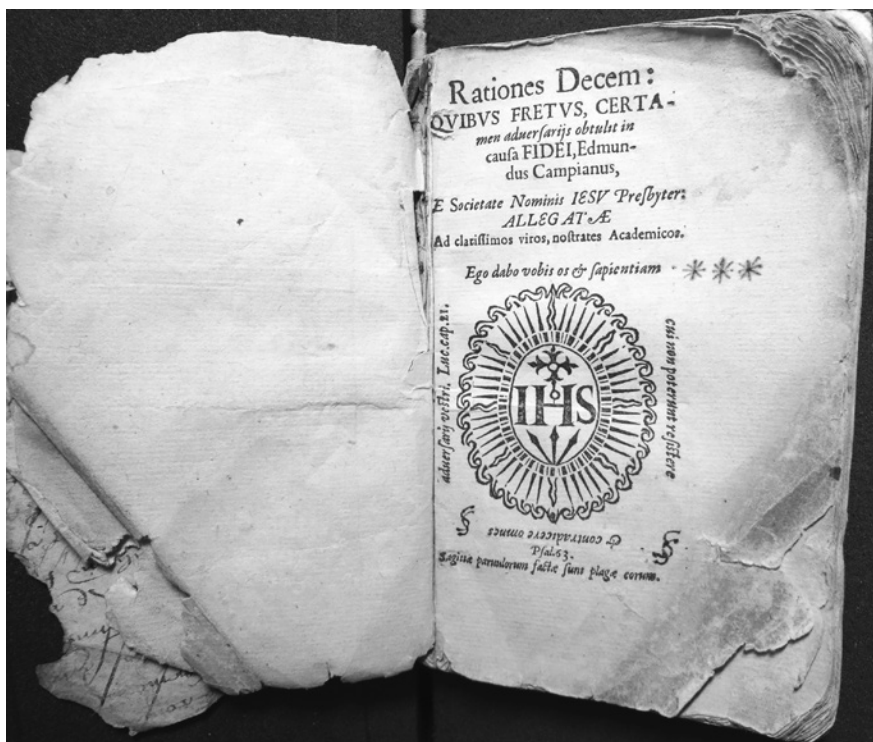


FIGURE 12.1 *Edmund Campion, Rationes Decem* ([Stonor Park: Brinkley, 1581]), ARCR I. 135.1, Winchester copy (WN⁴): title page.

The re-discovery of this copy came soon after I realised that the unique Bodleian MS Tanner 329 translation of the first full biography of Campion, *Vita et Martyrium Edmundi Campiani* by Paolo Bombino, SJ, drew attention to a previously ignored part of the binding process.² No mere hagiographer, Bombino is extremely careful to detail his sources, which include Campion's fellow Jesuit missionary, Robert Persons (1546–1610), and several eyewitnesses. It is now clear that the binding of the Stonor Park edition of *Rationes Decem* by Rowland Jenkes took place both in Oxford and in Southwark. The Winchester copy is almost certainly one of the smaller batch of books bound in Southwark by

and Parsons: *The Jesuit Mission of 1580–1581* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1980), p. 106 n. 3, still thought there were only four.

2 *Vita et Martyrium Edmundi Campiani Martyris Angli, Editio Posterior ab Auctore multis aucta partibus, & emendata* (Mantua: Fratres Osannas, 1620), ARCR I. 195. The publication, this edition and the wider context of Campion's life are discussed in my *Edmund Campion: A Scholarly Life* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015).

Jenkes and his servant. This secretly printed book is one about which we know almost everything, including the names of all the men involved in the printing, the bookbinder and the distributor. We even know where and when the idea of the book was first mooted, and we have detailed descriptions both of its early reception and of its material presence in the Tower disputations. This article will try to tell the story of *Rationes Decem* from the first moment in 1580 when Edmund Campion on his way to Rome from Prague, made preparatory notes in one of Europe's great libraries.

Notes in a Library

The first disputation in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London on 31 August 1581 between the tortured Jesuit scholar, Edmund Campion, and two Protestant deans, had no sooner started than Alexander Nowell (ca.1507–1602), the Dean of St Paul's, accused Campion (in Latin) of lying (*impudentissime mentiris*) when, on the second page of the *Rationes Decem* he said that Luther had dismissed the Epistle of St James as an "empty epistle made of straw" (*tumidam, aridam, stramineam*). There was no such phrase in any of the copies they could find in London, he asserted; Campion replied that, given time, he could have a copy fetched from the Emperor's library in Prague, or the Duke of Bavaria, in whose library he had recently made notes from early editions of Luther.³ They laughed at going all the way to Germany for a book. But he was right; the phrase was in an early edition of Luther, and Campion had

3 Campion, *Rationes Decem*, sig. Aiv; Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium* p. 221; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 92r. Daniello Bartoli, SJ, *Dell'Istoria Della Compagnia Di Giesu L'Inghilterra Parte Dell'Europa* (Rome: Varese, 1667), tried to identify the edition: "Father Campion had copied those words very faithfully from the works of Luther, from the old edition of Jena in Thuringen of Saxony, a city quite devoted to that heretic, as having been among the first to receive the evil seed of his errors," quoted in James V. Holleran, *A Jesuit Challenge: Edmund Campion's Debates in the Tower of London in 1581* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999), pp. 203–204. The passage may be found in the Latin translation of Bartoli, *Europeae Historiae Societatis Iesu Pars Prior Anglia*, trans. Ludovicus Janinus, SJ (Lyons: Adam Demen, 1671), pp. 155–156. Bartoli may be mistaken, however, since Luther appears to have excised his own words in his *Ain Sermon von sant Jacob* (Augsburg?, 1522?) very soon after they were published. While it is possible that Campion took the soon notorious quotation from an adversarial collection like the *Declaratio Errorum Lutheri P. Ioannis Davantriae* (Coloniae: 1535), or the *Enchiridion Locorum Communium Ioannis Eckii, adversus Martinum Lutherum & asseclas eius* (Antwerp: Ioannis Steelsius, 1535), his reference to editions in Prague and Munich does suggest he had seen the original edition.

“copied those words very faithfully,” while he spent two weeks at the beginning of March 1580, on his way from Prague to Rome, in the Residenz of Wilhelm v, Duke of Bavaria (1548–1626) in Munich.⁴ Campion, summoned to England, was clearly preparing material for theological controversy. Campion began the book with scholarly notes taken in Munich, and tied the argument down with precise marginal glosses; it was later to be printed in almost every major European city.

Conception

The idea of the book, however, was first proposed at a secret meeting in an obscure house outside London. By the time Campion’s fellow missionary, Robert Persons, returned to London at the end of October 1580, he found “the persecution so hott and especially against Fr Campian by name, by reason that his paper of challenge, as they called it, was come abroad and infinite copies taken thereof” that it was not thought safe for him to “enter the city.”⁵ On 17 November 1580, Persons wrote to Alfonso Agazzari SJ, Rector of the English College in Rome:

The causes of this persecution are not known with certainty, but not a few are suggested: as for instance the ill-success of the English in Ireland against the army of the Supreme Pontiff.⁶

Campion went to the comparatively safe house near Uxbridge (fifteen miles outside London), which was rented by William Griffith from Sir George Peckham (who lived at Denham).⁷ The meeting in Uxbridge was a large one, attended by several senior (Marian) priests, many members of the Catholic

4 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium Edmundi Campiani*, p. 228; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 96r.

5 ABSI Collectanea, P. I, fol. 144b. This is the manuscript in the Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu (ABSI) London, transcribed in 1689 by Fr Christopher Grene, SJ, from the notes of Robert Persons, SJ for a ‘Life and Martyrdom of Edmund Campion’ (unfinished). The openings are numbered, so *a* refers to the verso, *b* to the recto.

6 CRS 39, Robert Persons, SJ, *Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, SJ*, ed. Leo Hicks, SJ (London: Catholic Record Society, 1942), p. 56.

7 ABSI Collectanea, P. I, fol. 144b; CRS 2, *Miscellanea II* ‘Memoirs of Father Robert Persons,’ ed. J.H. Pollen, SJ (London: Catholic Record Society, 1906), p. 27; Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, ‘*And Touching Our Society*’: *Fashioning Jesuit Identity in Elizabethan England* (Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2013), p. 205. For more on William Griffith, see Anna Maria Orofino, “*Coelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*”: David Stradling (1537–ca. 1595)

nobility including two grandsons of Thomas More, George and Charles Bassett, and the two equerries, George Gilbert and Gervase Pierrepont. George Gilbert (1559–1583) was the aristocrat who largely funded the Jesuit mission of 1580–1581.⁸ There, they recounted what “mercies God had shown unto them,” and Campion wrote his letter to Everard Mercurian (1534–1580), the Jesuit Superior General.⁹

The Uxbridge conference marks the end of the first phase of the mission: indeed the end of the mission as originally conceived and planned. Even in the country, the search, especially for Campion, had intensified to the point where such a ministry was almost impossible. Although “light & spirit were brought back agayne to poore England,” the priests and the whole Catholic community found “that a rigid persecution was at their heeles.”¹⁰ Indeed, the meeting began as a large English fleet was sailing to Smerwick, a quiet bay in the Dingle peninsula in southern Ireland, to confront the Spanish reinforcements for the invasion force led by Dr Nicholas Sander (1530–1581); by the time Campion left Uxbridge, Captains Walter Raleigh (1554–1618) and Humphrey Mackworth, had carried out the orders of Lord Grey (1536–1593). The Jesuits may not have heard the cries of the dying Spaniards, but when the conference in Uxbridge broke up around 16 November, 507 Spanish soldiers had been massacred, and many beheaded, after they had surrendered with furled ensigns and laid down their weapons in Dún an Óir, an iron-age fort on Smerwick harbour.¹¹

and his Circle of Welsh Catholic Exiles in Continental Europe,’ in *Recusant History*, 32.2 (2014), pp. 139–158 (p. 155).

- 8 For the remarkable Gilbert, see H. Foley, SJ, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. 3 (London: Burns and Oates, 1878), pp. 658–704; Joseph Gillow, *Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics from the Breach with Rome, in 1584, to the Present Time*, 5 vols (London: Burns & Oates), II.461–465; and *ODNB*, ‘George Gilbert,’ by Thompson Cooper, rev. Thomas H. Clancy.
- 9 ABSI Collectanea, P. I, fol. 144b. Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 126; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 43r. The letter is printed in *Decem Rationes Propositae in Causa Fidei et Opuscula Eius Selecta*, ed. Sylvester de Petra Sancta (Antwerp: Plantin Moretus Press, 1631), ARCR I. 170 (hereafter *Opuscula*), pp. 408–419.
- 10 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 126; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 43r.
- 11 Raphael Holinshed, *The Second Volume of Chronicles: Containing the description, conquest, inhabitation, and troublesome estate of Ireland...augmented...by John Hooker* (London: John Harrison et al., 1586), STC 13569, II. 171.a.52–b.73. For first-hand details, see CRS 26, ‘Some Letters and Papers of Nicholas Sander,’ ed. John B. Wainwright, in *Miscellanea XII* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1926), pp. 13–57. For summary of sources, see Alfred O’Rahilly, *The Massacre at Smerwick, 1580* (London: Longmans Green, 1938). For survey of English policy in Ireland, see Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1995), pp. 223–228; and for strategy, Paul E.J. Hammer,

Those at Uxbridge suggested that Campion “besides his occupations of preaching & instructing to write something also in the Latin tongue unto the universities.”¹² Campion thought about their request and asked them what they would suggest; there were as “many matters” proposed as there were “divers men.” Some proposed writing “some consolation unto Catholics in this time of persecution”; others to encourage the weak to make a stand; others that he should “write of some points of controversy.” When Campion had heard their views, “he paused awhile,” said they were all good ideas, but that if it were “his own choice” he would write “*de haeresi desperata*, to show that heresy did now despaire in England.” When they laughed, given that it seemed “most to flourish in England & to threaten persecution,” Campion calmly replied that “their cruel proceeding by terror is the greatest argument that may be of their desperation.”¹³ This perception is central to Campion’s view of the regime, and is still visible in the *Praefatio* of *Rationes Decem*: “*tormenta non scholas parant antistites*” (the high priests are preparing instruments of torture not scholastic debates).¹⁴ Cruelty is the response of those who know they are losing the battle. The word *Desperatio* runs in anaphora diagonally across the first leaf: “*Desperatio... Desperatio... Desperatio... Desperatio*”, as a repeated answer to a series of rhetorical questions about what has driven the heretics to reject books of the Bible that do not fit their ideas.¹⁵

To escape the hue and cry, it was decided that Campion should “return again to the country until the present tempest of persecution” was “blown over.”¹⁶ They settled on Lancashire first because “it was more distant from London & more generally affected to the Catholic religion,” and secondly because “there was more hope for him to finde commodity of books for him to write or answer the heretics.”¹⁷ Musters were largest in Dorset and Kent. They assumed that,

Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544–1604 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 94–109. For the impact on the English mission, see Kilroy, “‘Paths Coincident’: The Parallel Lives of Dr Nicholas Sander and Edmund Campion, SJ,” in *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014), pp. 520–541, and *Edmund Campion: A Scholarly Life* (Arlington: Ashgate, 2015) Chapters 4–6.

12 ABSI Collectanea, P. I, fol. 145a.

13 ABSI Collectanea, P. I, fol. 145b.

14 *Rationes Decem*, sig. 3r; quoted by Sir John Harington, York Minster Library MS XVI.L.6, p. 239, later printed as *A Tract on the Succession to the Crown* (A.D. 1602), ed. Clements R. Markham (London: Roxburgh Club, 1880), p. 106.

15 *Rationes Decem*, sig. Aiv; see also, ABSI Collectanea, P. I, fol. 146a.

16 ABSI Collectanea, P. I, fol. 144b.

17 ABSI Collectanea, P. I, fol. 145a.

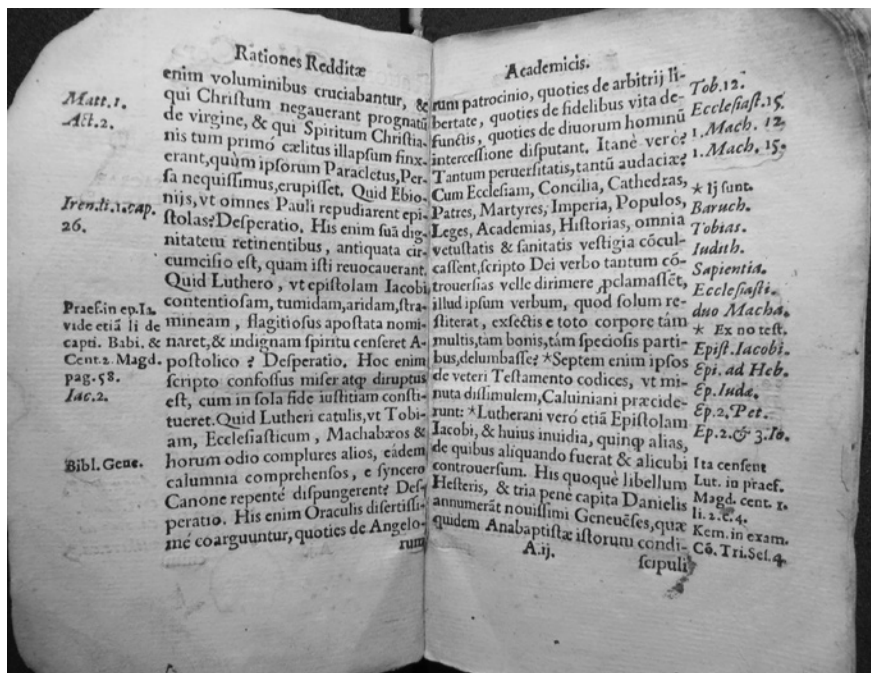


FIGURE 12.2 *Edmund Campion, Rationes Decem* ([Stonor Park: Brinkley, 1581]), ARCR I. 135.1, Winchester copy (WN⁴).]: sig. A1v–A2r.

since his ‘challenge’ was now “spread over England” and the main subject of conversation in inns, taverns and public meetings, it would soon be answered.¹⁸

As Campion [the son of a publisher] was leaving (*discedens*), seeing that many books full of lies would be published against him, he strongly recommended that we should see about setting up a press.¹⁹

Almost immediately, Stephen Brinkley (ca. 1550–after 1585), who had published books through the printer, William Carter (ca. 1548–1584), offered his help.²⁰ Carter himself was in the Gatehouse, arrested by Bishop John Aylmer

18 ABSI Collectanea, P. I, fol. 145a.

19 ABSI Collectanea, P. I, fol. 152b.

20 Stephen Brinkley was a pensioner of St John’s College, Cambridge, who had organized the secret printing in 1579, by William Carter, of his own translation of Gaspar Loarte’s *Exercise of a Christian Life*, using a false Parisian imprint. Brinkley’s birth and background remain obscure, but after his release from the Tower on 24 June 1583, he went abroad and helped Persons on his secret press at Rouen. His translation of Loarte – revised for

(1521–1594) for having a copy of “*the innocency of the Scotyshe Quene*, a very dangerous book” in his Tower Hill House.²¹ Within a month of Campion’s suggestion, Brinkley and Persons had set up a printing press at Greenstreet House, seven miles outside London.²² Brinkley found a man willing to sell a press “at a round rate” and “all that belonged unto it” (types, formes, ink), and (given the need for secrecy) collected a large team of Marian priests (*sacerdotes antiquiores*).²³

Although Campion suggested it, Persons first used the press for what might be called internal controversy within the Catholic community. Before they left Uxbridge, Persons received a letter from Fr. Edward Chambers, a Marian priest, telling him that an anonymous manuscript was being circulated, which argued that Catholics could attend Protestant services without sin. The book had already convinced several leading Catholics, including Lord Thomas Paget (ca. 1544–1590), Ralph Sheldon (ca. 1537–1613), Lord Henry Compton (1544–1589) and Sir William Catesby (1547–1605).²⁴ Fr Chambers asked to meet Persons, “at the first Inn upon the right hande when you are past Holborne Bridge going towards Newgate.”²⁵ The result was *A Brief Discours contayning certayne Reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church*, the first book on the press.²⁶ This confirmed the policy first adopted at the Council of Trent in

a second edition in 1584 – seems to have inspired Persons’ *Christian Directory*. It seems likely that he was involved in the publication of *Leicester’s Commonwealth*, which was smuggled into England by Ralph Emerson, SJ, in September 1584. See the article by D.M. Rogers in *The New Catholic Encyclopaedia* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967).

21 ODNB, ‘William Carter,’ by Ian Gadd. The book may be ARCR I, no. 501, by John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, which was printed by John Fowler in Louvain.

22 The probable date of his birth, 1559, is taken from John J. LaRocca’s ODNB article. The letter, dated from Oxford as ‘v. Kalend. Sext. M.D. LXX’ (June 1570), which gives us an idea of how deep is Campion’s admiration for the whole family, is printed in the *Opuscula*, pp. 341–347.

23 ABSI Collectanea, P. I, fol. 152b. Marian priests played an important role in the printing.

24 CRS 2, pp. 12–218.

25 CRS 2, p. 29; he once mistook the name of an inn (possibly the same one) the ‘redd rose (or red lyon) in Holborne,’ and so escaped a trap by pursuivants in which Edward Rishton was arrested, CRS 39, p. 88.

26 [Robert Persons], *A Brief Discours contayning certayne Reasons Why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church. Written by a learned and vertuous man, to a frend of his in England*. And Dedicated by I. H[owlet, pseud.] to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie (Doway: John Lyon [East Ham: Greenstreet House Press], 1580), STC 19394; ARCR II. 613. Hicks, in CRS 39, p. xxxii, n. 49, puts forward a convincing case for December as the true date.

1562–63, where Bishop Thomas Goldwell (ca. 1515–1585) and Dr Nicholas Sanders (ca. 1530–1581) represented English Catholics.²⁷

Campion finally left for Lancashire on 16 November 1580.²⁸ He was still travelling on horseback, preaching “almost every day” after saying Mass to congregations thirsting for both the sacraments and preaching.

I ride through some new part of the country almost every day. There is an immense harvest. Sitting on my horse, I meditate my little sermon (*coniunculam*), which I polish after I have entered the house. Then I speak with those who come up to me, or hear their confessions. In the morning, after Mass, I preach to congregations thirsty for the word of God who flock to the sacraments in very large numbers (*frequentissimi*).²⁹

Staying only one day in houses where Catholics lived alongside “heretikes,” he said Mass in the early hours and left before dawn; where the household was wholly Catholic, Campion might stay “two, three or four dayes together.”³⁰ In 1660, three generations later, Henry More tells us, people in the North remembered the topics of his sermons: “the Angelic salutation, on the ten lepers, on the king setting out for a far country, on the last judgment,” and the crowds that “flocked” to hear them “with such enthusiasm” that “men in numbers and of notable families would pass whole nights in neighbouring barns in order to be present” the next morning.³¹ They were “captivated” not so much by his “eloquence or elocution” as by “the warmth with which he spoke, and some hidden force in his way of speaking,” which “proceeded from nothing less than the Holy Spirit. He preached every day, except when he had to withdraw from the throng of besiegers in order to write.”³² Persons says people pressed them

27 Thomas McNevin Veech, *Dr Nicholas Sanders and the English Reformation 1530–1584* (Louvain: University Library, 1935), p. 42.

28 The month is made clear both by his letter to Mercurian, written after he had started on this phase (*quintum iam mensem in his locis dego*) and the date by Persons, who says in his letter to Agazzari, written on 17 November, that Campion left ‘yesterday,’ *Opuscula*, p. 408; see CRS 39, p. 52 (trans. p. 59).

29 *Opuscula*, pp. 411–412.

30 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 124; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 42r.

31 Henry More, SJ, *The Elizabethan Jesuits: Historia Missionis Anglicanae Societatis Jesu* (1660) ed. and trans. Francis Edwards (London: Phillimore, 1981), p. 91. More found that ‘Campion’s memory has remained green in the North even down to our own day.’

32 More, *Historia Missionis*, pp. 91–92.

to preach “two or three times a day” (*due or tre volte...far semoni*), and that during Mass there was *tanta copia di lacrime* that, dry old stick as he himself was (*arido como sono*), he was reduced to tears by the congregation.³³ Campion’s last sermon at Lyford Grange had everyone weeping, even his betrayer, George Elyot, who wondered whether he would repent or not.³⁴ Round the sick bed of Mrs Yate, everyone was weeping, but filled with joy, during Campion’s final exhortation: “In very deed by this last speech of his, they tooke so deeply into their mindes joy & comfort.”³⁵ *Rationes Decem* was a continuation of this very *affective* preaching, a sermon in print, to congregations thirsting for the word of God.³⁶

Writing

In the third week of Lent, his guide, Mr Smyth, took Campion to Mount St John, the commandery of the Knights Hospitaller of St John, an elevated hill-top in the parish of Felixkirk, belonging to William Harrington. “At Eas[ter]st he was at one Mr Haringtons house in Yorckshire. There he was busy at his study, and made a good pece of his Latin booke,” wrote William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520–1598).³⁷ He was there until Easter (26 March that year), about three weeks, just after Lord Burghley had revised his “second bill for retayning the Queenes Majestys subjectes in their obedience,” published on 4 March 1581.³⁸ The house is not far from Thirsk, but wonderfully secluded; it is only six miles from the ruined abbey of Rievaulx, so it is easy to imagine that Campion, a seasoned pilgrim who had walked over two thousand miles to and from Rome, would have walked the short distance to this “ruined choir”.

Campion seems to have finished the *Rationes Decem* at Park Hall, the house of Richard Hoghton (d. 1622) on Yarrow Water, where he stayed till Whitsun (14 May). Then he sent the manuscript to Persons.³⁹ He returned south, at

33 CRS 39, p. 43.

34 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 170; (missing in Tanner translation).

35 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 178; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 68r.

36 *Opuscula*, pp. 411–412; More, *Historia Missionis*, p. 92.

37 BL Lansdowne MS 30, item no. 78, fol. 202v.

38 TNA PRO 12/148, no. 10, fols 37r–71v. Burghley has annotated this very long bill in his own hand.

39 BL Lansdowne MS 30, item no. 78, fol. 202v: ‘He sent his Latin booke to Mr Parsons by one Rychardson. He sent it to Rychardson by one Robinson, who delivered it at Mr Claisbyes house in Yorckshire.’

Whitsuntide, summoned by Persons who had “procured another place for a print”: Stonor Park, “standing in a wood fast by Henley.”⁴⁰

Marginal Glosses

When he received the manuscript,

Parsons, at first sight, was much moved at the world of testimonies, which he saw (as the manner is) in the margent of the booke, fetchd from all antiquity and coated out of their severall places, where they were to be found in ancient writers; in so much that they all most filled the whole margent of the booke.⁴¹

Persons was conscious that the “adversaries would search, canvas, & examin, till their very hearts ak’d” the references, and so wrote to Campion to ask if he was sure that all his citations were correct.⁴² Campion said he was, but asked that they should “try even to the quicke” all the references, so Persons engaged Thomas Fitzherbert for this “very scholarly task” (*operam diligentissimam*).⁴³ In his own account, Fitzherbert, who “by reason of his noble extraction and learning” had “all the London libraries at his command,” says that Persons gave the manuscript to him “in written hand to be printed” and told him

that it was Father Campion’s, and therefore recommended yt to me not only to read but also to examine the places of the Fathers alleadged therein (because I might have more free recourse to publick libraryes in London than priests or religious could have) besides that after yt was printed Father Campion himself gave me one of the first printed copyes of his owne worke.⁴⁴

Precise references in marginal glosses were Campion’s trademark: they are evident in both his poem on the early church and in his history of Ireland,

⁴⁰ CRS 2, p. 29.

⁴¹ Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 132; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 46v.

⁴² Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 132; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 46v.

⁴³ Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 133; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 47r.

⁴⁴ John Hungerford Pollen, ed., *Acts of English Martyrs Hitherto Unpublished* (London: Burns and Oates, 1891), p. 37.

and there are over two hundred and fifty marginal references in the *Rationes Decem*.⁴⁵

Stonor Park is a house “standing in a wood fast by Henly,” and “by that meanes accommodated with navigation” on the Thames, so all “necessaries” (especially paper), could be discreetly conveyed there.⁴⁶ Fr William Maurice, “a learned and experienced priest,” who was in charge of procuring the paper, also chose the house.⁴⁷ The watermark, a left-handed pot surmounted by a flowery crown, suggests that the paper comes from Evreux or Rouen in Normandy.⁴⁸ William Carter’s house (in Hart Street, near the Tower) would have been ideal for taking paper directly off ships, as the nearest wharf is the east side of London Bridge.⁴⁹ Brinkley may have carried on using Carter’s supplier, now that Carter was in prison.

Campion reached Stonor about the end of May 1581; Persons wrote to the new Jesuit Superior General, Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615), that he and Campion, on 3 June, had read together the General’s letter of 27 March:

With what sentiments we read this letter, I cannot tell you! (Providentially we were gathered together at that time. I had called my father [Campion]

45 For manuscripts of *sancta salutiferi nascentia semina verbi*, see BL Add. MS 36529, fols 69v–78r; Holkham MS 437, and Bodl. MS Rawl. D. 289 and for printed text and translation, see Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 47–58, 149–193. For *Two Bokes of the Histories of Ireland*, see Bodl. MS Jones 6 and Marsh’s Library, Dublin Farmleigh MS IV.E.6. For printed text, see ‘A.F. Vossen, *Two Bokes of the Histories of Ireland* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1963).

46 CRS 2, p. 29; Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, pp. 138–139; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 50r.

47 CRS 4, *Miscellanea IV*, ‘The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons (concluded),’ ed. J.H. Pollen (London: Catholic Record Society, 1907), p. 17.

48 The watermarks are mostly concealed by the binding, but they are close to Briquet 12801 with initials, ‘P O,’ and with initial ‘D,’ which may be part of ‘P D’ or ‘P D B,’ Philippe de Bosy (Briquet 12791 and 12794). See Nancy Pollard Brown, ‘Paperchase: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England,’ in *English Manuscript Studies*, 1 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 120–143, for de Bosy’s paper being used later. Robert Persons was to make Rouen, then a major port, the base for his printing, when he fled to France.

49 Birrell, T.A., ‘William Carter (ca. 1549–1584): Recusant Printer, Publisher, Binder, Stationer, Scribe – and Martyr,’ in *Recusant History*, 28.1 (May 2006), pp. 22–42 (p. 25). William Carter was incarcerated between December 1579, when his press was raided and his house ransacked for books, and June 1581, which explains why he was not involved at this stage; see *ODNB*, ‘William Carter,’ by Ian Gadd. Because Carter worked for Nicholas Harpsfield and Lord Lumley, he is important evidence of the continuity of resistance between Henrician and Elizabethan Catholics, and of the continuing importance of Thomas More and his descendants. Carter printed at least two books under the false imprint of John Fowler, perhaps with the collaboration of John or Alice Fowler.

from distant parts. I had not seen him for eight whole months.) I will say only: we read it; reread it; a third and a fourth time we read it; we showed it to our friends; we were exultant, delighted. May God thank you for so great a consolation.⁵⁰

Even when Campion returned first to London, his “ardent eloquence,” both “in the city” and in the suburbs, “upheld” men from “tottering”; preaching daily, he would “ever & anon interrupt his speech with teares of joy streaming down his cheeks.”⁵¹ On the Watling Way, which led from Tyburn through Harrow, the missionaries frequently “used the hospitality of Mrs Bellamy, because this excellent woman had a very good library in her house, perfect place for quiet rest and collecting their strength for the frequent exercises of the spirit.”⁵² *Rationes Decem* was, in every sense, a continuation of his preaching, the central aim of the mission, in printed form: “he continued to preach indefatigably” (*indefesse concionabatur*).⁵³

A long tradition at Stonor locates the press in the attic which must have put a strain on the beams of the floor. There is enough space here for several men to work. The original team of “older (Marian) priests” had now given way to seven men listed in the *Concertatio*: the printer Stephen Brinkley, Fr William Hartley, a former St John’s chaplain, John Stonor and four servants: John Harris, John Harvey, John Tucker and John Compton.⁵⁴ All were arrested when the press was seized on 8 August 1581.⁵⁵ This may be the only book in the world where we know the names even of the servants involved in the printing.

One would not know, to look at the book, with what difficulty it was produced; it is “distinctly well got up,” as John Hungerford Pollen argues.⁵⁶ Perhaps the most striking features of the text (especially when one sees it in a copy whose heavily thumbled corners, worn to a used roundness as it was passed greedily from “hand to hand,” attest to the eagerness with which it was read) are elegant conciseness of the Latin, the neatness of the print, the wide margins

50 ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 651/640; quoted by McCoog, *Fashioning Jesuit Identity*, p. 207, n. 34.

51 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 135; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 47v.

52 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 135; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 47v.

53 ABSI Collectanea P. 1. fol. 155a. Persons uses the frequentative imperfect.

54 [John Gibbons and John Fen], *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia Adversus Calvinopapistas et Puritanos* [anr. edn. enlarged] (Trier: Henry Bock, 1588), ARCR 1. 525, fol. 408r.

55 *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae* (1588), facsimile, ed. D.M. Rogers (Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, 1970), p. i.

56 J.H. Pollen, ‘Blessed Edmund Campion’s “Decem Rationes,” in *The Month*, 105 (1905), pp. 11–26 (p. 22).

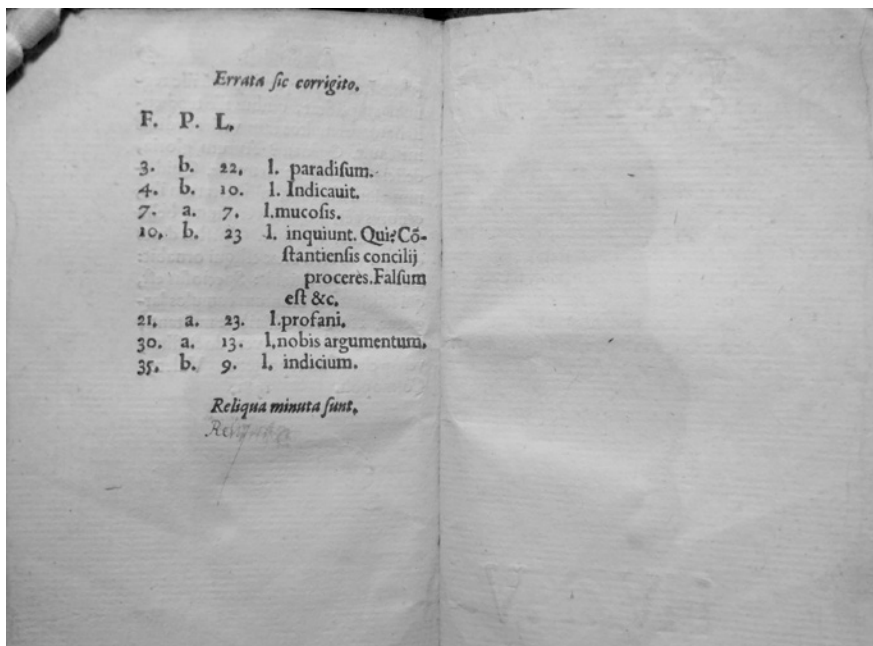


FIGURE 12.3 *Edmund Campion, Rationes Decem* ([Stonor Park: Brinkley, 1581], ARCR I. 135.1, Winchester copy (WN⁴): sig. K3v–K4r.

full of glosses.⁵⁷ The book is an octavo, in eleven gatherings of four, printed on half-sheets of eight pages, because of the paucity of roman type and of Greek letters; some type ran short before the end of each gathering.⁵⁸ There is a curious *s semé* on either side of the title page and again at the end of the printed text (sig. K3r), as if it were some sign of approval. Each sheet had to be printed before the next forme could be set up. Two sets of bearer type, one centimetre high, at the top and bottom of the page, have been used on the last leaf of sig. K4; two blank fly leaves or end-papers, a gratuitous new gathering (sig. L1r–2v), generously provide a total of six blank pages, perhaps for responses, perhaps as protection.⁵⁹

57 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 132; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 46v.

58 Pollen, in 'Campion's "Decem Rationes"' (1905), pp. 22–23, describes the watermark as "the ordinary English sign." There is one signature for the *Praefatio*, followed by ten from A1 to K4, with two blank flyleaves at the beginning and two at the end, making forty-eight leaves altogether. When Pollen became aware of the Winchester copy, he wrote a short additional note, 'Campion's *Decem Rationes*,' *The Month* 114 (1909), p. 80. Evelyn Waugh, *Edmund Campion* (London: Longmans, Green, 1935) p. 147, appears to have based his bibliographic information on Pollen.

59 Sig. L1–2. There were two flyleaves at the front of the book, but they are very damaged in the Winchester copy. They do not appear to have been wrapped around the spine under

The printing of *Rationes Decem* took almost a month, from the end of May until about 20 June: that is about one half-sheet every two days. This book, in all its aspects, bears Campion's stamp. Where Robert Persons had used black letter for the three previous books on the Greenstreet House press, Campion chose to use roman type throughout, appropriate for a Latin text, but also perhaps showing that Campion was influenced by his sojourn in Prague.⁶⁰ Where Persons' black letter text is relieved only by the quotations and marginal glosses in roman, Campion's roman type has the sophisticated contrast of marginal glosses where references to the Bible and the Fathers are in italic, and those to reformers are in roman. The title page has the same *impresa* as *A Brief Censure*, but with the IHS oval now enclosed by a quotation from Luke in a rectangular border in italics: "I will give you speech and wisdom that all your opponents will not be able to resist or contradict."⁶¹ This is a book printed by the son of a stationer with an eye for the *mise-en-page*; like his father he was publishing subversive material, but on a completely opposite side of the religious debate.

For Campion's father, also called Edmond, published, around 1548, an octavo volume of four virulently anti-papist tracts, under the title, *Newes from Rome concerning the blasphemous sacrifice of the papisticall Masse with dyvers other treatises very Godlye & profitable*.⁶² The book, written by Randall Hurleston, was "Prynted at Cantorbury by J. Mychell. for E. Campion"; John Mychell was one of Archbishop Cranmer's printers, who had also worked for Edward Whitchurch, the partner of Richard Grafton in the enterprise of the 'Great Bible' of 1539.⁶³ The book that Campion senior published, which contains fierce attacks on the Mass, on vestments and ceremonies, on saints and, crucially, on transubstantiation, perhaps the most controversial issue of the period between 1540 and 1547 when Henry VIII was trying to maintain an orthodox view on all Catholic doctrine, "leaves no doubt about where his religious sympathies

the parchment, but they may have also provided additional protection for the main text. I am extremely grateful to Professor Henry Woudhuysen for his help with all the bibliographic details.

- 60 Steven K. Galbraith, "'English' Black-Letter Type and Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*," in *Spenser Studies*, 23 (2008), pp. 13–40; see Kilroy, 'Advertising the Reader: Sir John Harrington's "Directions in the Margent,"' in *English Literary Renaissance*, 41.1 (Winter 2011), pp. 64–110 (p. 64).
- 61 This is imitated in Prince Radziwiłł's Latin edition: *Rationes [sic] Decem* (n.p.d. [Vilnius: M.K. Radziwiłł, 1584]), ARCR I. 144.
- 62 Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557*, 2 vols (Cambridge: University Press, 2013), p. 32. Blayney thinks it was issued 'early in the reign of Edward VI.'
- 63 Blayney, *Stationers' Company*, p. 655, puts Campion among publishers who had others print for them.

lay.”⁶⁴ His mother, Alice, was also a stationer, perhaps after she had been widowed, as we know from the statement in his ‘Examen,’ which the young Campion signed when he entered the Society of Jesus in Prague on 26 August 1573:

1^o Vocor Edmundus Campianus, Anglus Londinensis, Annos natus 34/2^o
Ex legitimo Matrimonio, & Parentibus ab antiquo Christianis, & in Catho-
lica fide, ut speratur, defunctis. Pater vocabatur Edmundus, Mater N.
conditione cives & bibliopolae, mediocri fortuna.

[1st: My name is Edmund Campion. I am English and a Londoner, now in my thirty-fourth year/2nd: I was born from parents who were legitimately married, had long been Christian, and who have now died (it is to be hoped) in the Catholic faith. My father was called Edmond, my mother N., and they were free citizens and stationers of modest means.]⁶⁵

Campion grew up, we can be certain, surrounded by printers and publishers, and shows throughout his life, a profound familiarity with all aspects of the book.

Printing

Dr Allen’s letter of 23 June 1581 says of Campion that: “He has seven men continually at work at a press outside of London (where the noise of the machine is less likely to betray it).”⁶⁶ The seven men as we have seen are named in the *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae* (1588): in addition to the printer Stephen Brinkley, there were Fr William Hartley (who was also in charge of the distribution), John Stonor, Dame Cecily Stonor’s younger son, and the four servants called John (see above).⁶⁷ The printers were working round the clock at Stonor Park, so they could have Campion’s challenge ready for the University Act, which

64 Blayney, *Stationers’ Company*, p. 655 n. B.

65 ARS1 Anglia 38/1, fol. 31r, a copy of a lost original, with significant differences from the continuous statement in the printed version found in the work of Joannes Schmidl, SJ, *Historiae Societatis Jesu Provinciae Bohemiae Pars Prima Ab Anno Christi MDLV Ad Annum MDXCII*, 2 vols (Prague: Charles University Press, 1747), I. pp. 338–339. Blayney, *Stationers’ Company*, p. 693, provides the details of a nuncupative will of Richard Jones, master of St Paul’s, where Campion’s mother was one of the witnesses, and is named Alice.

66 Thomas Francis Knox (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen* (London: Nutt, 1882), p. 98.

67 [John Gibbons and John Fen], *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia Adversus Calvinopapistas et Puritanos* (Trier: Henry Bock, 1588), ARCR I. 525, fol. 408r.

began in St Mary's, Oxford on 27 June 1581. The church of St Mary the Virgin was arranged for the Commencement with scaffolding "in maner of a theater" (as for the Queen's visit in 1566) with an upper tier added to hold the crowd; so popular was the event that the benches were filled several hours before the candidates presented their dissertations and received their prizes.⁶⁸

Persons, who was present throughout these events, tells us that Campion's "book was printed and the *most parte* of the copies sent to Oxforde" where they were "bound up with speed."⁶⁹ Fr William Hartley (ca. 1557–1588), a former chaplain at St John's College, Oxford, took the books to Rowland Jenkes, who was famous as a Catholic binder, ever since his trial, always known as the Black Assizes, in July 1577. This remarkable event (which begins Holinshed's 'Continuation,' and is marked with both the initials of John Stow and the distinctive paraph of Abraham Fleming) ended with the death "in Oxforde" of "300. Persons."⁷⁰ Jenkes had been sentenced in Oxford to lose his ears for binding recusant books; almost immediately, the entire court, including Sir William Babington and Anthony Pollard, was struck with a deadly fever and died.

The Winchester Copy

Of the five extant copies of the first edition only one, the Winchester copy is still in its original binding, a parchment wrapper.⁷¹ It therefore provides invaluable, and very rare, evidence of the binding of recusant books in England.⁷² The method used was clearly chosen for speed: it was bound in parchment and stab-stitched, a technique frequently used with short pamphlets, and one which involves the loss of the gutter. By looking along the outer surfaces of this manuscript, one can see that the head and tail of the book were cut professionally (with a plough) and burnished, while the fore-edge has been left

68 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 141; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 51r.

69 CRS 2, p. 29 (my emphasis).

70 Raphael Holinshed, *The Third volume of Chronicles ... Now newlie recognized, augmented, and continued (with occurrences and accidents of fresh memorie) to the yeare 1586* (London: Harrison, Bishop, Newberry, Denham and Woodcocke, 1587), STC 13569, III. 1270.a.52–b.18.

71 See above, note 1.

72 Pollen, 'Campion's "Decem Rationes"' (1905), p. 18, shows (with illustration) that the first book printed on the Greenstreet House press was also stab-stitched and bound in parchment. This was Robert Persons, *A Brief Discours contayning certayne Reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church* (Doway: John Lyon [East Ham: Greenstreet House Press], 1580), STC 19394; ARCR II. 613.

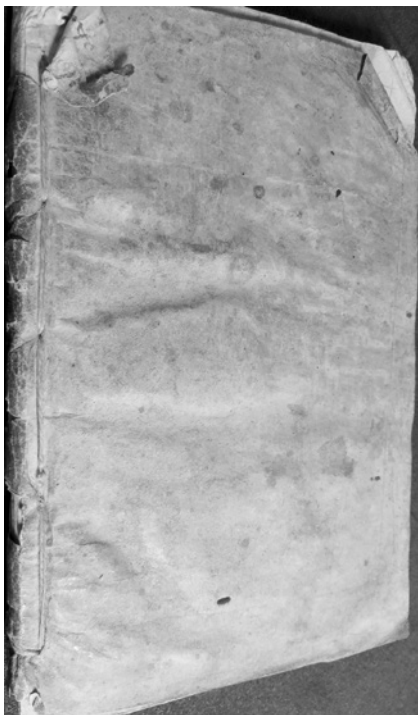


FIGURE 12.4

Edmund Campion, Rationes Decem ([Stonor Park: Brinkley, 1581]), ARCR I. 135.1, Winchester copy (WN⁴): Original parchment binding.

uncut, ensuring that the margins provide space for annotation.⁷³ One wonders whether the Dean of St Paul's, Alexander Nowell (ca.1516/17-1602), had annotated his text for the first Tower disputation in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula?

The parchment wrapper on the Winchester copy is a manuscript fragment of a lease of property belonging originally to Sir Thomas Docwra, "Prior of the late hospitallers of St John" of Clerkenwell (who died in 1527), and dated "the fowerth yere of the reigne" (1562). Since it also mentions the parish of Kingsbury and Hendon, and Richard, William and 'Dorethe' Bellamy, where Campion and Persons, as we have seen, regularly rested in Mrs Bellamy's Harrow-on-the-Hill house on their way back from London, there is much to suggest that this copy is one of the smaller batch (perhaps another hundred copies) bound by Rowland Jenkes and his irascible journeyman in Southwark,

73 I thank Professor Nicholas Pickwood for this suggestion, and all his help on early modern binding, and Professor Henry Woudhuysen for his help in interpreting this copy and its manuscript cover.

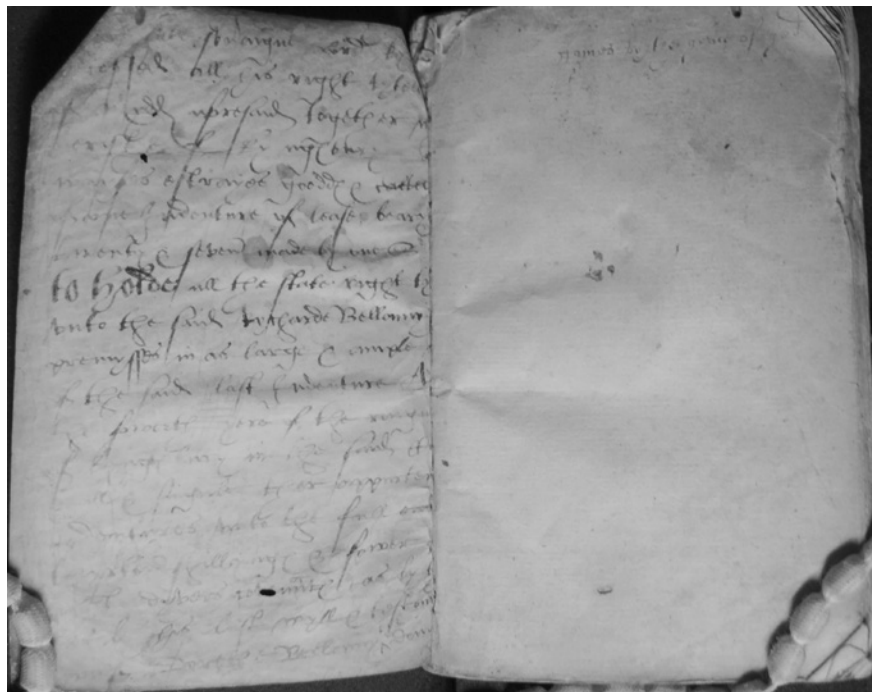


FIGURE 12.5 *Edmund Campion, Rationes Decem* ([Stonor Park: Brinkley, 1581]), ARCR I. 135.1, Winchester copy (WN⁴), parchment binding: a lease to Bellamy family of Harrow.

and that some of the Bellamy family of Uxenden Hall were among the London team that helped with the sewing and binding.⁷⁴

When the four hundred Oxford copies of *Rationes Decem* had been “bound up with speed” in Jenkes’s shop (probably close to St Mary’s), Fr William Hartley began his mission:

He cleverly attached himself to those he knew and those he did not, distributing more than four hundred books. Some realized what was happening, as he gave the book to them, so that little by little they were

74 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 135; Bodl. MS Tanner, fol. 48r; William Weston, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. Philip Caraman (London: Longmans, Green, 1955), p. 3. Pollen, ‘Campion’s *Decem Rationes* (1909),’ p. 80, suggested the manuscript was ‘a deed brought home [Stonor Park] from Harrow by one or other of the missionaries,’ and that ‘Mrs Bellamy was ready to give away old deeds.’ Both seem unlikely. Reynolds, *Campion and Parsons*, p. 106, note 3, suggests that the book was ‘surely imprudently’ bound with this ‘parchment deed.’

drawn by a desire to read what had been put in their hands. Other copies he left during the night in the theatre itself, as if they had been scattered there.⁷⁵

The place, the timing, the language, and even the font of this book were significant. This was a challenge in Latin from a leading Oxford scholar now famous in Prague and Rome, placed in St Mary's, Oxford, the location for major academic disputations. Campion may have written the book secretly, but this was a chivalric challenge in print addressed especially to the Queen. Campion names a succession of emperors and kings in Europe. In a very personal apostrophe, Campion invites Elizabeth to join them:

Erunt Reges nutricii tui & Reginae nutrices tuae. Hear, Elizabeth, most puissant Queen (*Audi, Elizabetha, Regina potentissima*), the great prophet is addressing you, and teaching you your role. One heaven cannot hold both Calvin and the princes I have named. Join those princes who are worthy of your ancestors, your intelligence, your learning, your honours and your good fortune.⁷⁶

On the last day (*Veniet, Elizabetha, dies, ille ille dies*), the Queen will discover whether it is "the Society of Jesus, or Luther's brood, that has loved her the most."⁷⁷ This is not "a public challenge to the authority, and even the legitimacy, of the regime."⁷⁸ Campion ignores the debate over the pope's right to depose monarchs that had filled five hundred pages in Sander's book; instead, with knightly courtesy, he addresses the Queen as a prince among princes, an equal among European monarchs, just as Sidney in his 'A Letter to Queen Elizabeth Touching her Marriage with Monsieur' of 1579, had addressed her as "the excellentest prince in the world," and "the ornament of this age."⁷⁹ Campion, as if remembering her offer in Oxford 'to care & provide for' him, explicitly recognises her right to rule, tacitly rejects Sander's attack, in the seventh book of

75 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, pp. 141–142 (my translation); see Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 51r.

76 *Rationes Decem*, sig. I4v–K1r. The text is from Isaiah, 49.23, in the Latin Vulgate. Gregory Martin's Rheims translation (1582) is, 'And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nurses.'

77 Campion, *Rationes Decem*, fol. 37r (sig. K1r).

78 Peter Lake and Michael Questier, 'Puritans, Papists, and the "Public Sphere" in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context,' in *The Journal of Modern History*, 72 (September, 2000), pp. 587–627 (p. 613).

79 Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 128.

De Visibili Monarchia, on the Queen's legitimacy, and courteously offers good counsel.⁸⁰ There is no record of the Queen's displeasure with the manner of Campion's address.⁸¹

The book is unusually short for controversial literature. There are just over eighty octavo pages of about one hundred words of text on each page; the simple and concise sentences are balanced by the two hundred and fifty detailed references in the margins to the scriptures, Fathers of the church, and reformers. Remarkably, for a book printed in an attic, these are (we have seen) typographically differentiated. The division into ten chapters allows the book to build up a sense of the combined weight of fifteen hundred years of tradition, and of the novelty of the views expressed by the reformers. The first two chapters, on the Scriptures, show Campion undermining a central plank of the reformers' position: they may appeal to the Scriptures but they do so only by eliminating the texts (like the Epistle of St James) that resist their position. The next five chapters on the Church, the Councils and the Fathers, show what a long and learned tradition confronts reformers whom Campion places in succession to an uninspiring list of heretics from Arius to the Lollards, Wycliffe and Hus. Campion follows this with a collection of the most controversial *Paradoxa* and *Sophismata* of the Calvin, Beza and Luther. He starts with Calvin's assertion that God is the "author and cause of sin" (sig. F2v), and moves to another Calvinist statement that "the image of God has been completely wiped out in man" (sig. F4v). The finale is a climactic tenth chapter on the formidable list of witnesses in heaven and on earth who make up the Catholic church, which even shows how the church has inspired even the laws, the stained glass, the dress "settled in the very roots" of English culture (sig. K1v-K2r). The word, *testes* (witnesses), runs in an unusually extended anaphora, beginning seven long paragraphs, and culminating in a final flourish of ten clauses, each beginning with witnesses from every aspect of life in European cities:

Witness the Universities, witness the laws, witness the customs of ordinary people, witness the election and enthronement of emperors, witness the rituals of coronation and anointing of kings, witness the orders of knights and the very cloaks they wear, witness the stained glass windows, witness the coins, witness the gateways of cities and the civic buildings, witness the fruits of our ancestors and their way of life, witness every

80 Nicholas Sander, *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae, Libri Octo* (John Fowler: Louvain, 1571), ARCR I. 1013, pp. 730–732.

81 Worden, *Sound of Virtue*, pp. 41–43, 112–114, 149, 187, 285–286, assesses Sidney's strategy, and its consequences; see *ODNB*, 'Sir Philip Sidney,' by Henry Woudhuysen.

trivial detail: there is no other religion but ours in the world, and it has settled down to the very roots of our culture.⁸²

Campion succeeded in making the entire establishment feel that it had to enlist the most learned to answer his theological challenge. John Aylmer, Bishop of London, when asked by Lord Burghley to find theologians to respond to Campion, duly replied with a list of deans and learned churchmen, but added (in a third letter on the topic) that he thinks “none of our church mean to defend Luthers hyperbolas or all thinges that have passed the pennes of Calvin or Beza.”⁸³ To answer this Ignatian knight errant, Aylmer drafted in Laurence Humfrey and William Whitaker, the Regius Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, the state turning to “overtly Puritan, indeed Presbyterian, authors,” as it had with William Charke and Meredith Hanmer.⁸⁴ Campion had found the Achilles’ heel of the newly established church: the Queen loathed Calvin’s doctrines and despised the Calvinists, and the Treasurer and the Bishop of London were having difficulty finding deans willing to answer Campion. Others were excited and moved by the intellectual content of the argument:

In a word, all the bookes, the prayes whereof were soone knowen & spread abroad, invited men to read them, in so much that scarcely was there any one, to whom this booke was either by chaunce, or purposely offered, but it went forthwith from hand to hand, amongst many. Neither can it be easily imagined, or readily sayd, what a name this one only booke procured Campian, what prayse it added to the society, or to the whole Catholike cause. Many men, having but once read it, layd aside their heresie, many were enflamed with a desire to see the writer, & looke what wholesome spirit they had conceived in reading, in *hearing* Campian.⁸⁵

82 *Rationes Decem*, sig. Kiv.

83 BL MS Lansdowne 33, fols 35r–38r; third letter endorsed, ‘His opinion concerning Campions cavilles.’

84 Lake and Questier, ‘Edmund Campion Affair,’ p. 624; see Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, ‘The Role of Disputation,’ in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, 2nd edn (Rome: IHSI, 2007), pp. 138–163 (pp. 150–152) for the impact of the ‘Letter to the Council.’ The two responses were: William Charke, *An answer to a seditious pamphlet lately cast abroade by a jesuite* (London: C. Barker, 17 Dec. 1580), STC 5005; Meredith Hanmer, *The great bragge and challenge of M. Champion a jesuite contayninge nyne articles here severallye laid downe, confuted and aunswered* (London: T. Marsh, 3 Jan. 1581), STC 12745.

85 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 142; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 52r–52v (my emphasis).

Early Reception in England

We know a great deal about the first reception of the book:

The whole of the Oxford establishment was struck dumb. So when it grew light, there was an amazing sight, and very unusually, complete silence of the academics throughout the theatre: the eyes of all were intent on their furtive reading of the book they had found in their hands. I have heard some say that they have never experienced such a cold atmosphere in any assembly. The officials sitting on the dais, unaware of the reason, were amazed at what seemed like a disgraceful silence.⁸⁶

Campion's book, the *Rationes Decem* electrified the whole academic establishment gathered in the church of St Mary the Virgin. The initial impact that June morning did not diminish as the days passed.

scarcely was there any one, to whom this booke was either by chaunce, or purposely offered, but it went forthwith from hand to hand, amongst many... Others there were ambiguous and wavering in matter of Religion, whom you might observe, with a pensive silence hummingly to revolve the matter with them selves, & rather mutter amongst their friendes, then speake their mindes playnely⁸⁷

This is a book that moved and *affected* readers. Prevented from preaching openly, Campion had succeeded in making people hear him on paper, and in the most appropriate place.

Hartley returned "cherefully" (*laetus*) to Campion and Persons, but the moment of elation was as transitory as the dawn light in St Mary's.⁸⁸ A few days later, Hartley mentioned that he had heard that "a certayne journey-man whom Jenkes had hired," in "brauling" (*iurgium*), had threatened to report him for the "Catholike bookes, & written by a Catholike," which he knew were in a "certayne strangers chamber" in London, and "that he was well assured of what he affirmed for that he him selfe had helped Rowland to bind them." The servant had "immediately" set off for London in a rage:

86 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, pp. 141–142 (my translation).

87 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 142; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 52r ('hummingly,' not in the Latin, is added by the translator).

88 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 143; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 52v.

As Hartley was thus discoursing, Persons, who all this while had heard him with change of countenance, his colour often coming and going, asked him how many dayes it was since he heard of this newes; & Hartley answering, it was some foure dayes since, & withall perceiving Persons so betroubled; demanded, whether the matter anything concerned either him, or Campion? Yea verily doth it, sayd Persons, in manner, wholly concerne me. For know you, the chamber you speake of into which Ginkx [Jenkes] so unluckily brought that fellow, is mine; mine the bookes, which you say were there bound up; my selfe am the stranger who sette them a worke; & by and by, taking Campion to a side, told him: Assuredly, if Hartley say truth, your bookes are all lost, & both you and I in danger.⁸⁹

The assertion of Jenkes's hired servant that he had helped his master bind the books in Southwark suggests that, while "the most parte of the bookes" were bound and distributed in Oxford, the rest, a batch of perhaps one hundred, were bound in Persons' safe house. This hypothesis is confirmed by the Tanner translator, clearly a participant in the events who was still alive after 1620, who turns Bombino's indirect speech, *rerum suarum iacturam*, into the vividly direct, "your bookes are all lost."⁹⁰

Persons, fearing the Southwark house would be ransacked by the Privy Council, ordered George Gilbert to saddle his horse and ride as fast as he could to London, and "covertly dissembling the matter," ride down the street past the lodging to try to find out what was happening.⁹¹ Gilbert came back to report that he had "first passed through the street, & found it bristling with sorrowful silence, except for the sound, in some of the houses, of women weeping; the most notable for her grief being the landlady" of Persons' lodgings.⁹² It is

89 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, pp. 144–145; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 53r–53v. The Tanner translator appears to have been an eyewitness, who must have known that the remaining copies of *Rationes Decem* were in Southwark.

90 John Colleton (1548–1635) is the most likely candidate. One of the two priests arrested with Campion at Lyford Grange, he was acquitted at the trial. On 17 November 1600, he 'signed the appeal at Wisbech' and wrote a learned defence of the appellants, *A Just Defence of the Slandered Priests* ([London: Richard Field], 1602), STC 5557, ARCR II. 147, ODNB, 'John Colleton,' by Theodor Hamsen. In 1618, he wrote a treatise on behalf of the Archpriest William Harrison, which supported his argument against priests attending the theatre, but proposed lifting the ban in order to avoid division. This document is available in manuscript, Folger MS V.a.244, fols 1–89. I am grateful to Dr Clothilde Thouret, of the Sorbonne, for showing me this, and a draft of her forthcoming chapter.

91 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 145; Bodl. MS Tanner, fol. 53v.

92 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 145 (my translation); see Bodl. MS Tanner, fol. 53v.

a scene reflected in a contemporary motet of William Byrd, who set to music Jeremiah's lamentation, *Haec dicit Dominus*:

Thus says the Lord: the voice of lamentation, grief and wailing, has been heard in heaven, Rachel weeping for her children, and not wishing any consolation, because they are no more.⁹³

From the landlady, Gilbert found out that "the night before," Sir Thomas Wilkes (ca. 1545–1598), Secretary to the Council, "with an hundred armed men" had "entred the lodging," which her husband let to "a certain strange gentleman" (Persons had not given his name), where they had seized "a world of pardons & indulgences from the pope, beades, graynes, & Agnus Deies: & out of her bedde," dragged her husband, and in the next house, "apprehended a fine young man for a priest, as it is rumour."⁹⁴

Persons knew immediately that the young priest captured was Alexander Briant (1556–1581).⁹⁵ Persons was particularly attached to Briant, another Somerset man, born in Stogursey, two miles from Nether Stowey, where Persons used to walk to school. Briant had moved from Hart Hall to Balliol to be with Persons, whose 'Notae breves' slide in macaronic discord from Latin to Spanish, as he explains why he was so affected by the news of his torture:

Como fue Brianto mi discipulo y pupillo en Oxonio y sempre inclinado a la virtud despues sacerdote en Rhemis de grandissimo zelo scrivio al P. Richardo Gibbonio cum esset ingressurus Angliam an posset matrem suam adire: reconciliavit patrem meum et a latere meo nunquam in Anglia discedere voluit.

[As Briant was my disciple and pupil in Oxford and always inclined to virtue, and later a priest of the greatest zeal in Rheims, when he was about to come to England [on 3 August 1579], I wrote to Fr Richard Gibbons to ask whether he could visit his mother. He reconciled my father and wished never to leave my side in England.]⁹⁶

Alexander Briant was mercilessly tortured to try to get information on the press, but appears to have revealed nothing. The first three warrants for Campion's

93 Joseph Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (London: Faber and Faber, 1981), p. 42.

94 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, pp. 145–146; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 54r.

95 ABSI Collectanea P. I, fol. 155a, and CRS 2, p. 182.

96 ABSI Collectanea P. I, fol. 155a.

torture were on 30 July, 7 and 15 August. In the first disputation in the Tower, on 31 August 1581, Campion sat, bookless, in front of the Dean of St Paul's, Alexander Nowell and William Day, the Dean of Windsor, who sat behind a table groaning with books, while behind them was a crowd of ministers. When Campion and Persons met Beza in Geneva, he was dressed in "a long black gown & a round capp, wth ruffs about his neck and with a faire long beard representing fully the Puritan attire in England." All the ministers in St Peter ad Vincula were carrying a copy of *Rationes Decem*.⁹⁷ The parchment bindings of *Rationes Decem* must have stood out against their black gowns, highlighting the unfairness of the situation:

Know (Nowell) those poynts of Religion, which I have set downe, are but the places wherein to try the combat; the weapons, bookes, & study; whereas therefore you vauntingly challenge mee, naked and unarmed as I am, to dispute of these poynts, you accept in deed of the place I have appoynted for the combat, but withdraw my weapons. For otherwise, why should not I have the use of bookes as well as you, either before this time appoynted, or at leastwise even now, when I see those that are brought hither, not so much as to be touchd or looked upon by any of us, without your leave? And in very deed I (spent though I am, and almost exhausted with payne and miseries) could hardly forbear laughter, to heare you go about to perswade how equall my conditions were with yours, unlesse you thinke I might as well be prepard for a learned disputation by being three times racked, as you by turning bookes.⁹⁸

As Peter Lake and Michael Questier argue, "What is really remarkable is the fact that this extraordinary event should have been allowed to take place at all, showing how effective Campion's campaign for a fair hearing had been."⁹⁹ It is also true that the debate about who had won the disputations continued long afterwards in print, manuscript and speech. The blank pages in the Winchester copy may not have been filled with annotations, but the responses to the book

97 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 217; Bodl. MS Tanner 329, fol. 89v; BL MS Add. 39828, fol. 38r. These copies of *Rationes Decem* may have come from the stack of books seized in Southwark.

98 Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium*, p. 224; Bodl. MS Tanner MS 329, fol. 93v.

99 Lake and Questier, 'Edmund Campion Affair,' pp. 621–622, a more optimistic assessment of the impact of the disputations than Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, "Playing the Champion": The Role of Disputation in the Jesuit Mission,' in *The Reckoned Expense*, pp. 139–163 (pp. 162–163), who thinks that 'Charke and Hanmer were right: the time for discussion had passed.'

in speech and in writing continued for at least a hundred years, and reveal that the ten reasons had made their impact.

One ballad, preserved in manuscript (on a single sheet folded in eight, and clearly confiscated) in the State Papers, reflects the public sense that the state's response to the *Rationes Decem* represents an intellectual failure, and shows that the very title became part of the argument, since the ballad contains the word 'reason' five times: it contrasts Campion's "learning," "doctrine" and "argument" with the "racke" used by his opponents. Undated, it appears to come from the period between the end of August and the trial on 20 November, and is endorsed as "A libell touching Campion." Too sophisticated in its etymology, multiple voices and use of irony to be called 'popular,' it combines admiration for Campion's intellectual superiority with scorn for the theatricality of the disputations and a sense of outrage at the racking:

Campion is a Champion
him once to overcome
the rest be well drest
the sooner to mumme

he lokes for his liffe
they saye to dispute
and doubts not our doctrine
he bragges to confute
yf in steede of good argument,
we deale by the racke,
the papistes maye thinke
that learninge we lacke

come forthe, my fine darlinge
and make him a dolt
you have him full fast
& that in strong holte

A Jesuite, a Jebusite wherefore I you praye
because he dothe teache you the onely right waye
he professeth the same by learninge to prove
and shall we from learninge to racke him remove

his reasones were redie, his groundes were most sure
the enemie cannot his force long endure

Campyon in camping in spirituall feild
in godes cause his liffe is redde to yeld

our preachers have preached in pastime & pleasure
and nowe they be hated farre passinge all measure
there wives and their wealthe have made them so mute
they can not nor dare not with Campyon dispute

let reason rule & rackinge sease
orels for ever hold your peace
you cannot withstand godes powre and his grace,
no not with the tower nor the rackinge place/

A golden verse which truly saithe
let reason goe hold fast thy faith
A mayde to be a mother & god a man
let reason go mum & beleve thowe the mother
set faith above & lett reason goe under¹⁰⁰

This perception is central to Campion's view of the regime, and is visible in the *Praefatio* of *Rationes Decem*: "the high priests are preparing instruments of torture not scholastic debates" (*tormenta non scholas parant antistites*).¹⁰¹ Voices proclaiming Campion the victor continued to circulate, and show that the argument set going by the *Rationes Decem* continued *viva voce*, and was vibrant for many years on the streets of London and in the courts of Europe.

Reception across Europe

Within a short time of the Stonor Park edition, others followed: in Rome, Milan, Trier, Prague, Ingolstadt, Lyons, Pont-a-Mousson, Paris, Amsterdam, Antwerp

100 TNA PRO SP 12/150, no. 72, fol. 137r-v. There is no punctuation in the original. The great biographer of Campion, Richard Simpson, copied the entire poem from the State Papers in Downside MSS, notebook 30 A, fol. 75r, without adding the division into three parts that he inserted in the printed text of *Edmund Campion: A Biography*, 2nd ed. (London: John Hodges, 1896), pp. 378–379. *CSP Domestic 1581–1590*, p. 31, prints one verse only. See also Alison Shell, *Oral Culture and Catholicism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 132.

101 *Rationes Decem*, sig. ¶3r; quoted by Sir John Harington, York Minster Library MS XVI.L.6, p. 239.

and many cities across Europe. In Vilnius in 1584, Prince Mikołaj Radziwiłł published two Polish translations, one by Gaspar Wilkowski, another by Fr Piotr Skarga, SJ and a Latin edition that imitated the title page and binding of the Stonor Park edition.¹⁰² By 1632, the *Rationes Decem* had been published in more than seventy different editions in almost every country in Europe, and translated into eight modern languages.¹⁰³ A Cologne edition preserved in the Dominican library in Kraków, was printed together with the *Adversus Prophanas Haereseon Novationes* of Saint Vincent Lerins, and acquired by a Dominican provincial, Fr Jan Damascene Lubieniecki, OP (1651–1714), while he was in Rome in 1703.¹⁰⁴ Fr Mathaeus Kozłowski, OP (1759–1839), Dominican Provincial Prior, and a professor at the Jagiellonian University, was ‘using (*utitur*)’ another edition, published in Vienna in 1676; he has annotated the text, and copied out by hand a page that had been lost from the apologetic text with which the book was bound.¹⁰⁵ More than two centuries after the book was printed on a secret press, the book was still being used to teach both apologetics and rhetoric. By this time, there had been some ninety editions published in virtually every country in Europe. Campion’s purpose was to defend the Catholic and Apostolic church, but he was also inviting a real academic response (as his wide margins and the generous blank end papers of the first edition might indicate). Campion’s argument is based on scriptures, the doctors and councils of the church, and is pastorally focused on winning the hearts and minds of its readers. It is not concerned with the intense political debate which was tearing England apart: whether the pope or the Queen had sovereignty, an issue central to the influential *De Visibili Monarchia* of Dr Nicholas Sander in which he asked three Cardinals: Giovanni Morone, Stanislaus Hosius and Giovanni Commendone, to help free their brethren from the

102 *Raitones* [sic] *Decem* (n.p.d. [Vilnius: M.K. Radziwiłł, 1584]), ARCR I. 144; *Dziesięć Wywodów*, trans. Piotr Skarga, SJ (Vilnius: M.K. Radziwiłł, 1584), ARCR I. 192; *Dziesięć Mocnych Dowodów*, trans. Gaspar Wilkowski (Vilnius: M.K. Radziwiłł, 1584), ARCR I. 193. For illustrations and a full account of these see, Clarinda Calma, ‘Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł 1549–1646: Prince, Patron and Printer’ in Chapter 6 of this volume.

103 ARCR I. 135.1–193. Dr Clarinda Calma has been finding many editions published later, and I have been honoured to see these with her in libraries in Kraków, Warsaw, Munich and Dillingen.

104 *Rationes Decem* with Saint Vincent Lerins, *Adversus Prophanas Haereseon Novationes* (Cologne: Birckmann, 1600), ARCR I. 151.

105 *Rationes Decem R.P. Edmundi Campiani* (Vienna: Cosmerovius, 1676). This fine edition includes *Epistolae*, *Orationes* and a *Vita et Mors Edmundi Campiani*, and was clearly being used for apologetic purposes.

“dreadful tyranny in England.”¹⁰⁶ Sander ended his defence of the right of the pope’s *Civitas Dei* to depose monarchs in Book VII, with what was then the most recent transgression of the *Civitas Diaboli*: the state-sponsored kidnapping in Antwerp on 25 May 1571, and the execution in London on 1 June 1571, of Dr John Story.¹⁰⁷ This monumental work (844 folio pages), published a year after the papal bull, *Regnans in excelsis*, shaped the theology and politics of English Catholic exiles over the next decade, and 122 copies of this first edition, published in Louvain by John Fowler, another New College exile, still survive.¹⁰⁸ As the anonymous *A particular declaration* shows, Campion and his fellow defendants were interrogated, on the rack, on four extracts from Sander, and three from Richard Bristow, and judged on their responses.¹⁰⁹

The first printed life of Campion was a translation from English into French, and published a month after Campion’s death in Lyons and Paris, then translated from French into Italian and Latin, and attached to numerous collections of Campion material, printed in Louvain, Trier and Ingolstadt.¹¹⁰ Wilhelm Est translated it into Latin from the French, and Robert Turner from the Italian, and John Gibbons, SJ, appears to have combined it with Alfield’s account to create a collated *Vita et Martyrium Edmundi Campiani* for the ever-expanding *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae* first printed in Trier.¹¹¹ *L’Histoire de la Mort* is

106 *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae, Libri Octo* (John Fowler: Louvain, 1571), ARCR I. 1013, sig. 2r 4v: the dedication to the *illustrissimi cardinales*.

107 Sander, *De Visibili Monarchia*, pp. 737–738.

108 I am deeply indebted to long discussions with Dr Mark Rankin, whose work on the different editions and extant copies of *De Visibili Monarchia* (1571 and 1578) and *De Origine Schismatis* (1585 and 1586), is helping to elucidate the influence of Sander on both the politics and the historiography of Catholic exiles. There is an urgent need for a new study of Sander; the best work is by Thomas McNevin Veech *Dr Nicholas Sanders and the English Reformation 1530–1584* (Louvain: University Library, 1935). See also T.F. Mayer’s *ODNB* article, ‘Nicholas Sander,’ and Freddy Cristobal Dominguez, “‘We must fight with paper and pens’”: Spanish Elizabethan Polemics, 1585–1598’ (Princeton: Ph. D. Dissertation, 2011).

109 [Anon.], *A particular declaration or testimony, of the undutifull and traitorous affection borne against her Majestie by Edmond Campion, Jesuite* (London: C. Barker, 1582), STC 4536, sig. Dir to D4r.

110 [Anon.], *L’Histoire de la Mort que le R.P. EDMOND CAMPION Pretre de la compagnie du nom de Jesus, et autres ont souffert en Angleterre pour la foy Catholique & Romaine le premier jour de Deccembre, 1581. Traduit d’Anglois en Francois* (Paris: Chaudiere, 1582), ARCR I. 197. Robert Turner, SJ first made his translation from the Italian for his *Roberti Turneri Devonii Oratoris et Philosophi Ingolstadiensis Commentationes* (Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1584), ARCR I. 1264.

111 Wilhelm Est, trans., *Martyrium R.P. Edmundi Campiani Presbyteri* (Louvain: J. Masius, 1582), ARCR I. 203. [John Gibbons, SJ, and John Fen], *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in*

evidence that the international appeal of Campion's story is no accident. In the eyewitness account of his last words on the scaffold, Campion is described as having turned to the crowd and

earnestly begged the Catholics present that, although he was in the agony of his death, they would recite with as much fervour as they could the *Symbolum Apostolorum*, to show that he was dying for nothing other than the Catholic and Apostolic faith, which is to be found only in the Roman church.¹¹²

Campion, who had spoken Latin since he was at school, transformed the state's secular theatre into a moment of intense religious communion with the early church of the martyrs; the audience heard him and responded in the language of one of the earliest prayers of the universal church, to join with him, in his agony in making his last words a shared utterance. The choice of prayer allowed the congregation to end with the most ancient proclamation of faith, their murmuring Latin labials eliding with the thin December air at Tyburn: "*sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, resurrectionem carnis, vitam aeternam.*"

Campion's preaching was part of an auditory Latin culture, which extended beyond the boundaries of the academy, and remained the common linguistic and literary heritage of Europe well into the twentieth century. Patrick Leigh-Fermor later reflected that, when he and General Kreipe in Crete, on 27 April 1944, discovered they both knew the same ode of Horace, *Ad Thaliarchum*, they "had both drunk at the same fountains long before."¹¹³ Latin was a shared cultural inheritance, and not just a fountain, but a wide, deep river that ran beneath the universal, Catholic church, traversing continents and centuries, and uniting nations and peoples. In his oration for the start of the academic year, *De Juvene Academico* (on the Young Scholar), Campion described the ideal scholar as *patria quidem Cosmopolites*: "a citizen of the whole world."¹¹⁴

Anglia Adversus Calvinopapistas et Puritanos (Trier: Edmund Hatotus, 1583), ARCR I. 524. This is reprinted in the much expanded version, *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae* (1588), ARCR I. 525.

112 *L'Histoire de la Mort*, p. 26.

113 Patrick Leigh-Fermor, *A Time of Gifts* (London: John Murray, 1977), p. 74. The ode is Horace, *Odes*, I.ix, '*Vides ut alta stet nive candidum/Soracte.*' Artemis Cooper, *Patrick Leigh-Fermor: An Adventure* (London: John Murray, 2012), p. 184, gives a full account of the incident.

114 SZ MS DD.v.8, fol. 400v; Edmundi Campiani, *Orationes, Epistolae, Tractatus de imitatione Rhetorica*, Part 2 (with separate title page, pagination and signatures) of Robert Turner's *Posthuma* (Ingolstadt: Ederianus for Andreas Andermarius, 1602), ARCR I. 1263, p. 31.

It is appropriate that a scholar who was the son of a radical Protestant publisher, who had earlier styled himself variously as *Edmundus Campianus Anglus Londinensis* and *Edmundus Campianus Oxoniensis*, who had adopted St Patrick as his patron, studied in Flanders, walked as a pilgrim to Rome, who had preached in the courts of Munich and Prague, the barns of Yorkshire and the halls of Lancashire, and finally on the scaffold at Tyburn, and who dreamt of being “sent to the Indians,” should put his faith in the “witnesses” of a universal Christendom, and make the last word of his most famous work, the *Rationes Decem*, from the “City of all the world”: *Cosmopoli*.¹¹⁵ From its inception to its wide European reception this was a text intended for the universal, Catholic, church, by a European scholar who consciously chose to transcend the boundaries of culture and nationality.

¹¹⁵ *Rationes Decem*, sig. K3r; the translation is taken from Edmund Campion, *Ten Reasons*, ed. John Hungerford Pollen, SJ, trans. Joseph Rickaby, SJ (London: Manresa Press, 1914), which prints both the Latin and a translation, and contains a long introduction, p. 145.

Lay Catholic Book Ownership and International Catholicism in Elizabethan England

Earle Havens

As historians gaze back across the massive shelves of rare books and manuscripts that remain with us from the distant past in hundred of libraries, great and small, it is not difficult to wonder at the host of enduring discourses and archival survivals that place us into a somewhat more direct connection with venerable texts and contexts. What is less visible are all the losses, all the destruction, whether intentional or the result of benign neglect, and all the gatherings of like materials that have been pulled apart along fissiparous trajectories by forces hostile to their content and preservation. “Collections” have also always drawn the attention of collectors – from the well intentioned antiquary to the most covetous materialist bent on owning for himself or herself the rarest of the rare – and thus many have also been broken up and scattered to the four corners of the earth from one generation to the next.

Survival Rates of English Catholic Vernacular Books, ca. 1580–1603

Evidence of lay Catholic book ownership in England during the initial decades of the English Mission, ca. 1580–1603, is scarce in this same respect – scattered, much like the early English Catholic community itself, censored, suppressed, and often destroyed – despite the rapid increase and use of the printing press by that missionary Catholic priesthood and its lay allies at the time. Nonetheless, hundreds of polemical and devotional works in the English language, Latin and in other vernacular languages employed in print specifically for Catholic causes do survive, both as physical artifacts endowed with evidence of their provenance and use, and through secondary records of their ownership left to us in the manuscript record by witnesses both hostile and sympathetic.¹ While a considerable majority of these Elizabethan Catholic imprints

¹ A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640: An Annotated Catalogue*, 2 vols. (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989–1994), hereafter ARCR. Approximately 261 English vernacular books were printed ca. 1558–1603, roughly two thirds of that number during the English Mission, ca. 1580–1603.

were overwhelmingly polemical in nature, a smaller minority printed up to ca. 1603 – perhaps just under 60 titles in all – were largely or completely devotional in nature, and further distinguished by their having been printed in the English vernacular for as wide, and presumably lay, a Catholic readership as possible. Though this sample set of late-Elizabethan Catholic vernacular devotional printing is rather small, it nonetheless encompasses a broad range of themes of particular importance to the embattled Catholic lay readership for which it was intended, well beyond the fundamentalia of confessional self-identification and cross-confessional conflict. Elizabethan Catholics were bereft of their former traditions well before the reappearance of pre-Reformation parish church worship (albeit briefly reinstated, but still fixed within a living generational memory during the reign of Mary I, which can hardly be described as Tridentine). Denied fabrics and family memorials within the parish churches, Elizabethan Catholics were also greatly limited in their access to priests and essential sacramental worship, and increasingly subject to harsh and periodically concerted efforts by the Protestant authorities to suppress, coerce, and juridically and financially sanction the Catholic faithful.

One important response to these conditions was spurred by the Catholic missionary priesthood, but driven far more by the spiritual needs of the Catholic laity than by the indefatigable ardor of clerical defenders of the Old Religion. And so, a raft of English-language spiritual Catholic texts emerged in the final decades of the Elizabethan regime: bibles and primers, catechisms and rosary texts; martyrologies, *ars moriendi* and *contemptus mundi* treatises; systematic, imaginative meditations on the name of Jesus and Christ's passion; epistles of spiritual instruction and consolation; holy verses and systematic spiritual exercises; manuals of prayer and preparation for taking the holy sacraments.

While a number of those spiritual works were reprinted repeatedly before the accession of James I (1567–1625, reigned in England 1603–1625), historical limitations of access by lay readers to these books – some printed secretly in England, others on the continent and smuggled over the Channel – are strongly suggested by the large number of copies from that same modest corpus of devotional imprints that have all but disappeared. Approximately one third of

Three times that number appeared in Latin or continental vernacular imprints for the entire Elizabethan period, the large majority of those polemical. This article would not have been possible without several grants given in support of this research: the Bibliographical Society of America's Katherine F. Pantzer Senior Research Fellowship in the British Book Trades; The Muriel McCarthy Library Research Fellowship given by Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin; and the 2015 Renaissance Society of America/Bodleian Library Research Fellowship.

the total number of extant Elizabethan Catholic spiritual books in the English vernacular that survive are known in but one or two recorded copies.² This Elizabethan devotional corpus is also quite distinguished for the preponderance of continental, post-Tridentine Catholic spiritualists represented within it, suggesting a far sharper emphasis on international Catholic identity and confessional cosmopolitanism than has been generally acknowledged or explored. Among these 60 or so titles, one discovers translations of the works of Alonso de Madrid (ca. 1480–1570), Francisco Arias (1533–1605), Vincenzo Bruno SJ (d. 1594), Petrus Canisius SJ (1521–1597), Diego de Estella (1524–1578), Jacobus Ledisma SJ (1519–1578), Gaspar Loarte SJ (d. 1578), Pietro da Lucca (d. 1522), Luis de Granada OP (1505–1588), Luca Pinelli SJ (1542–1607), and Lorenzo Scupoli (1530–1610), as well as of earlier northern continental spiritualists such as Johan Justus Lanspergius (1490–1539), Nicolaus von Esche (1507–1578), Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471), and Heinrich Suso OP (1295/1297–1366). This is surely a reflection, at least in part, of the international influences felt by the English

2 Copy survival rates of late sixteenth-century imprints, while hardly an empirical measure of lay access to books at the time of their initial production and circulation, constitute some of our only suggestive data about what may, or may not, have been readily available at that time in the historical past to lay readers. With that caveat in mind, it is notable that at least 8 of the ca. 60 devotional vernacular Catholic books described here are recorded by Allison and Rogers in but one extant copy: ARCR vol. 2, nos. 95, 326, 328, 329, 546, 898, 903, 915. A ninth vernacular devotionally oriented book was unknown until its acquisition by the Bodleian Library after the appearance of ARCR vol. 2, *The Myrror of Consolation* (n.p., n.d., [probably the secret press of William Carter: London ca. 1578]). See Geoffrey Groom's brief essay in the *Bodleian Library Record* 16 (October 1999), pp. 499–502. About a dozen others are recorded as surviving in two copies by Allison and Rogers: ARCR vol. 2, nos. 7, 327, 336, 339, 434, 462, 721, 888, 896, 910, 924, 928. These numbers are necessarily approximate, and do not account for additional copies identified since the appearance of ARCR vol. 2 in 1994 (ARCR 2 is simply being used here as a core sample source, not as a comprehensive and exhaustive exposition of all known copies up to the present day). While many of these reside in institutional libraries long associated with the Catholic Church in England, it is perhaps not insignificant that the only recorded copies of at least three of these illicit Catholic titles are to be found at Lambeth Palace Library (ARCR vol. 2, nos. 329, 910, 915), though it is impossible to determine if this was the result of their confiscation by Protestant authorities under the aegis of the Archbishop of Canterbury. A notable exception to this point, within this entire corpus of devotional vernacular Elizabethan Catholic books, are the concentration at Lambeth of no fewer than 5 of the 9 total copies identified by Allison and Rogers of Ralph Buckland's *Seauen Sparkes* (ca. 1603), ARCR 2:96. Though a somewhat polemical text, it draws directly from scripture and outlines the author's hope of Catholicism's return to England in psalm form. See Josaphine Evetts-Secker, "Jerusalem and Albion: Ralph Buckland's 'Seauen Sparkes of the Enkindled Soule,'" *Recusant History* 20:2 (October 1990), pp. 149–63.

missionary priests who were responsible for this flurry of English vernacular devotional printing, owing to their mandatory clerical training on the continent in various of the English Catholic colleges at Douai-Rheims, Rome, and Valladolid between the 1570s and the 1590s, and soon thereafter at St. Omer.³

While this printed record cannot be treated as an ideal source of information about lay Catholic book ownership during the later sixteenth century, at least aspects of the material history of the present-day survival rates of these imprints from the Elizabethan Catholic corpus of spiritual books can nevertheless appear revealing.⁴ In 1584, the priest Thomas Alfield (1552–1585), with the assistance of the dyer Thomas Webley (d. 1585), successfully smuggled and distributed within the London parish of All Saints, Bread Street between 500–600 copies of William Allen's controversial Catholic polemic, *A True, Sincere, and Modest Defence, of English Catholiques*. Printed by the Jesuit leader of the early English Mission, Robert Persons (1546–1610), at Rouen earlier that year as a rebuttal of Lord Burleigh's inflammatory anti-Catholic *Execution of Justice in England* (1583), Alfield and Webley were subsequently arrested, tried and executed for their subversive activity. Nonetheless, some 25 copies of the 1584 imprint are known to survive to the present day.⁵ If so of polemics, even ones

3 ARCR vol. 2, nos. 63–65, 160, 269, 323, 325–330, 333, 336–37, 339, 345, 439–440, 443–44, 462, 505, 768, 887–888, 896–898; 456–57, 641, 803, 903. There were several different English translations and variations on Canisius' monumental post-Tridentine catechism, two recorded in but two copies each (ARCR vol. 2, nos. 462, 888), and two others in over 15 copies each (ARCR v, nos. 333, 887). For a recent study see Alexandra Walsham, "Wholesome Milk and Strong Meat: Peter Canisius' Catechisms and the Conversion of Protestant Britain," in *British Catholic History* 32:3 (2015), pp. 293–314.

4 Survival and loss rates constitute a prominent, and recently an extremely innovative, aspect of medieval manuscript studies, borrowing from the social scientific disciplines. See esp. Eltjo Buringh, *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West: Explorations with a Global Database* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), esp. Chapter 4, "Losses of Medieval Manuscripts," pp. 179ff.

5 ARCR vol. 2, no. 14. On Alfield, see Catholic Record Society, Records Series (London: Catholic Record Society, 1905–), hereafter CRS, vol. 2, pp. 239, 270–71; vol. 5, pp. 105, 108–9, 112–20; John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, 7 vols. in 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1824; rept., New York: B. Franklin, 1966), vol. 3, pp. 309–11, 448–52, 623–4; A.C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559–1582* (London: Sands and Co., 1950), pp. 53, 279–83, 378; also J.N. Langston, "Robert Alfield, Schoolmaster, at Gloucester, and His Sons," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 56 (1935), pp. 141–63. It does not, however, necessarily follow that the large-scale interception of such Catholic imprints will have severely limited the available supply. Though he was reported to have successfully brought in 810 unspecified recent Catholic imprints into England in an earlier smuggling run, the Jesuit lay brother Ralph Emerson was subsequently captured by crown authorities with another large consignment, including the scandalous treatise commonly referred to as *Leicester's Commonwealth* (ARCR

confiscated in large numbers by Protestant authorities, what of spiritual books? Indeed, religiously oriented Elizabethan Catholic books, though a tiny minority of the larger Catholic missionary printing movement, appear with considerable regularity in contemporary inventories and accounts of lay Catholic collections. This may, in at least the case of Gregory Martin's fresh Catholic biblical translation commonly known as the "Douai-Rheims New Testament," be attributed to reportedly massive print runs: some 4,000–5,000 copies by one account. Printed initially in 1582 and again in 1600, at least 50 separate copies are recorded as extant, some 25 or more copies of each Elizabethan version (ARCR 2:173–174). Beyond the failure of the regime to suppress the circulation of this text, its success in terms of survival rates was greatly, if not also ironically augmented by the intervention of the Elizabethan regime itself, which sponsored an authorized, almost verse-for-verse Anglican response to the new Catholic bible, composed in exhaustive detail by the crown's ready stable of theologian-apologists, most prominently William Fulke (1538–1589), William Whitaker (1548–1595), and John Rainolds (1549–1607).⁶ A copy of the illicit Catholic biblical translation was republished in the resulting Anglican rebuttal, alongside the authorized Protestant version and a forest of allied, hostile glosses condemning the careful labors of Gregory Martin (1542–1582) and his colleagues in their effort to collate the various ancient versions of the biblical texts and spare their English brothers and sisters from the host of other "heretical" versions of the scriptures circulating at the time throughout England.

Following his relocation to Rouen after the initial failure of the Mission in autumn 1581, Father Persons set upon establishing a press almost immediately in order to print books in the English vernacular "for there is nothing which helps and has helped and will help protect in the future and spread our cause so much as the printing of Catholic books, whether of controversy or devotion."

vol. 2, no. 31). Despite this interception and confiscation (albeit of an unspecified number of copies), some two dozen copies of the latter work are accounted by Allison and Rogers, and this despite the issue of a Royal Proclamation explicitly condemning it in October 1584. See Paul Hughes and James Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 3 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964–69), no. 672. On Emerson, see CRS vol. 2, pp. 251, 260, 271, 283, 285; vol. 4, pp. 157–59; vol. 39, pp. lxvi–lxvii, 217–24, 227; vol. 60, pp. 57–58. William Weston, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, Ed. and Transl. Philip Caraman (New York: Longmans, Green, 1955), pp. 1–3, 7–8n. Strype, *Annals*, vol. 4, pp. 256, 258. Henry Foley (ed.), *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, 7 vols. (London: Burns and Oates, 1877–82), vol. 3, pp. 17–37.

6 Discussed at length in Alexandra Walsham, "Unclasping the Book? The Douai-Rheims Bible," in her *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham, Eng., and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 285–314, esp. pp. 291, 300–01.

By the summer of 1584, he reported to Rome that he had in those years sent to England from the continent “Little Office books, catechisms, books of devotion and controversy to the value of more than 4,000 crowns.”⁷ This seems no small boast, for numerous of his publications survive in large numbers in extant Catholic book inventories from the period, including his fairly ubiquitous *First Book of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution*, first printed in 1582 at Rouen, and reprinted again in 1584, 1585, and 1598, in addition to numerous early seventeenth century editions. Some 60 copies of the four Elizabethan editions alone are recorded in extant copies. Only one of those four appears to have been distressed, either by efforts at official suppression, or simply by poor success in the process of smuggling and distribution (only four copies of the 1584 edition are recorded in Allison and Rogers). Persons also undertook to publish translations of the popular, Tridentine spiritual works of Luis de Granada, including a 1582 and a 1584 edition of his *Of Prayer, and Meditation* (ARCR 2:443–444) and two editions, 1586 and 1599, of his *Memoriall of a Christian Life* (ARCR 2:439–440), all four of which survive in between 15 and 20 copies.

These fairly robust rates of survival must be interpreted in relation to a significant portion of other Catholic vernacular devotional titles from this same Elizabethan corpus that, by contrast, seem impossibly rare in the present day. While reprinted almost constantly throughout that period, two of the most popular devotional manuals, the *Manual of Prayers* and *Jesus Psalter*, reflect a complex and remarkably tenuous tradition. Based on the fact that the *Manual*, first printed by Persons in Rouen in 1583, was reprinted no less than six more times over the next sixteen years up to 1599, one would presume its fairly robust popularity – a presumption that can only be encouraged by its further appearance in nearly two dozen more editions from 1604 to 1640. And yet the large majority of nearly all of those 29 editions of the *Manual* up to 1640 survive in but one, two, or three surviving copies, and many of those that do survive are notably imperfect. Of the seven Elizabethan editions of the book identified by Alison and Rogers, three survive in unique copies (two of those are imperfect), one in two copies (including one, notably, at Lambeth

7 Robert Persons to Claudio Acquaviva, Rouen, 21 October 1581, CRS vol. 39, pp. 107, 114, 216n, 236. For a detailed study of lay Catholic book distribution involving hundreds of copies of books associated directly with Persons' press in Rouen, and several women distributors and intended recipients, see the forthcoming essay by Earle Havens and Elizabeth Patton, “Catholic Missionary Printing and Underground Book Distribution in Elizabethan England: A Case Study,” in James Kelly and Susan Royal (eds.), *Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory, and Counter-Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

Palace Library), and the remaining two editions in but three copies each.⁸ The contemporary, ritual *Jesus Psalter* followed a remarkably similar fate through its six Elizabethan instantiations, only ten of which are recorded as surviving in research libraries, two of them in unique copies, and two others only in imperfect impressions.⁹

Even this brief excursus into the present-day survival of books printed in support of the daily spiritual edification of Elizabethan Catholics suggests, at the least, that there was a remarkable scarcity of contemporary Catholic access to the newly printed literature of the English Counter-Reformation during the early period of the English Mission. Just because a given Catholic title was known, or was suspected to have been printed, within that chronological frame, one cannot assume that the ideas it contained, or the missionary purposes with which it was imbued, were at all influential or widespread, let alone more abstractly “in the air” in any significant way. In mining Alison’s and Rogers’ bibliography, even in this artificial and selective way, one receives the sense of a tremendous circumstance of loss, of the many lacunae amid the host of volumes that are otherwise made visible in the book stacks of the great rare book and manuscript libraries of the world. While the Alison and Rogers corpus of early English Catholic imprints has benefited mightily by the more recently availability, however imperfect, of electronic catalogue records and additional identified copies of these books in the antiquarian book trade, the evidence of scarcity and poor survival seems nevertheless to obtain within the Catholic spiritual literature, even up to the period of the Civil Wars.

Where else might the historian turn, then, in the face of this condition of constrained evidence of access and survival of Elizabethan Catholic books, let alone their contemporary reception, use and demonstrable influence upon members of the Catholic laity for whom they were intended? How might one attempt to reconstruct some measure of the reception of this English Catholic literature, whether devotional or polemical, in the face of such losses? So many of the records that do document the lives of members of the Elizabethan Catholic lay underground were recorded as artifacts of hostile witness, marked down often for legal and forensic purposes in the process of detecting, documenting and adjudicating forms of Catholic disorder, crime, and even treason. It is nonetheless upon these scattered materials of disorder that the student

8 ARCR vol 2, nos. 200–205. Imperfect editions often lack their original title pages, and/or other portions of the full collation. It is impossible to conclude with any authority why this frequent physical imperfection is commonplace, though it may at least suggest that these devotional manuals were used frequently, if not “to death” by their owners.

9 ARCR vol. 2, nos. 193–198.

of English Catholic book ownership in the later sixteenth century must rely. Fortunately, so many of these touch upon the detection of household properties, including books, from the private rooms and residences of suspected or known Catholic lay people. And so, we are obliged to examine this admittedly partial and subjective evidence of the larger phenomenon of lay Catholic book ownership during the period – evidence that only those sources can provide.¹⁰

Anecdotes and Inventories: Documentary Evidence of Elizabethan Lay Catholic Book Ownership

A far more specific source of evidence of Catholic book ownership among the provincial laity during the Elizabethan period, particularly for the first years after the Elizabethan Settlement, derives from anecdotal records of disorder and official detection. Among the ecclesiastical records for the Archdeacon's and consistory courts for the diocese of Canterbury between circa 1559 and 1565 there occur several typical and not surprising references to lay possession of newly banned Catholic texts, including "a mass book and other Latin books" in the home of a Randall Tatnall, "a mass book" and a sacred image hidden under the headboard of a widow's master bed and "an unlawful book of prayers" used by the wife of William Bell, the latter having reportedly left her parish church "cursing and railing" against the Anglican service. Other "Latin books which were of church service in Queen Mary's time," were also taken away, along with Catholic communion books, homilies, and psalters sent off to be burnt by the ecclesiastical authorities, according to the terms of the Elizabethan Settlement and the various archiepiscopal visitation articles.¹¹

10 There are several useful studies of lay ownership of religious books, though these focus heavily on the seventeenth century, and do not differentiate across confessional lines. See Susan Gattuso, "Did They Own Books?: Book-Ownership Revealed in Norfolk Probate Inventories," *Norfolk Archaeology: A Journal of Archaeology and Local History* 45:1 (2006), pp. 74–85; Peter Clark, "The Ownership of Books in England, 1560–1640: The Example of Some Kentish Townsfolk," in ed. Lawrence Stone, *Schooling and Society: Studies in the History of Education* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 95–111, much of it reprinted in Peter Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent, 1500–1640* (Rutherford, Madison, Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1977), pp. 209ff.

11 Arthur Willis (ed.), *Church Life in Kent, Being the Church Court Records of the Canterbury Diocese, 1559–1565* (Chichester, Eng.: Phillimore, 1975), pp. 14, 20, 31. Eamon Duffy and Christopher Haigh have written extensively on the gradual success of ridding the Elizabethan parishes of the Catholic residue of the Henrician and Marian periods. See esp.

Similar snapshots come down to us with even greater frequency at the opposite end of the kingdom from among the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commission for the heavily Catholic diocese of York, where in June 1565 William Hussey, for example, was imprisoned at York Castle for owning five Catholic books “printed beyond the seas.” Another Catholic, John Lawson, was enjoined by the church authorities to perform the ritual presentation of an unnamed scandalous Catholic book before the entrance to his local parish church, then build a fire, tear out the pages, and publicly “burn all the leaves” in a solemn public act of contrition. Later, in 1581, Thomas Hunter was similarly ordered to make public declaration before the parish church congregation that he “detesteth popery, because he had a popish book called a *Catechism for Catholiques* taken with him which he used to pray on.” William Hilton was also ordered to be imprisoned at York Castle simply for owning “beades and suspicious books...which he confessed he useth to pray.”¹²

Others are known to have received Catholic books as generous presents and tokens of spiritual and confessional solidarity, like the gift from a Catholic girl of rank in York to the future seminarian John Jackson of a rosary and accompanying *Jesus Psalter* as well as a Book of Hours.¹³ In fact, many who were given Catholic books, or otherwise borrowed them temporarily, directly attributed the experience of their conversion to the old religion to their reading of those particular Catholic works. Such attributions emerge in an almost formulaic way in the records of matriculation interviews required of entrants to the continental English Catholic colleges at Rome and elsewhere.¹⁴ Although anecdotal in the extreme, the ownership of Catholic books could, in these ways, play a palpable role in the religious experiences, and resulting legal difficulties, of

Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) and *Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

- 12 J.S. Purvis (ed.), *Tudor Parish Documents of the Diocese of York* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), pp. 149–50. Hussey’s modest library included Thomas Harding’s controversial *A Brieve Answere of Thomas Harding* against Bishop Jewell’s “Challenge Sermon.” See ARCR vol. 2, no. 373, printed that same year, as well as works by John Poyney, Johan Dobneck, and an unidentified author called “Archer.” Hunter’s Catholic catechism is likely the anonymously translated *Certayne Necessarie Principles of Religion*, ARCR vol. 2, no. 462, which had also recently been printed in 1578–79.
- 13 CRS vol. 54, p. 126; also Foley, *Records of the English Province*, vol. 4, p. 293.
- 14 See, for example, the matriculation interviews, or *responsa scholarum*, of applicants to the English College in Rome for the Elizabethan period, in CRS vol. 54, pp. 11, 53, 57, 60, 63, 66, 74, 96, 98, 103, 128, 140, 145, 150, 155, 161, 168–9, 170, 187, 194, 198, 202, 207, 221, 229, 233.

their lay readers, even where the particular circumstances of their ownership of those books was not always clear.

Anecdotal references to random books smuggled, distributed, purchased, and owned by Elizabethan Catholics abound in the official records, particularly in inventories associated with inspections or unannounced pursuivant raids on private Catholic homes, and even within the cells of the most inhospitable of London prisons.¹⁵ What these rarely provide, however, is a more elaborate understanding of the particular sensibilities and interests that specifically linked larger gatherings of Catholic imprints to individual owners, particularly to those who can be positively identified and their personal circumstances further contextualized. Perhaps the best extant source for a more concrete historical picture along those lines are the many extensive private booklists that survive for Oxford and Cambridge dons, in particular those that had been compiled in the vice-chancellor court probate inventories for Cambridge University.¹⁶ The majority of the latter, following the periodic purges of Catholic fellows from the colleges following the Elizabethan Settlement, were of course overwhelmingly Protestant in nature. At the same time, anyone interested in defending the Church of England – and a large proportion of the apologists for the Anglican Church came from the ranks of university theologians – will

-
- 15 For an interpretive overview, see Alexandra Walsham and Earle Havens, "Catholic Libraries" in Folger Shakespeare Library series, *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, vol. 8 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2014), pp. 129–56. Walsham has treated the broader book history of early modern English Catholicism in a series of seminal essays, all recently revised and collected in her *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*, see esp. pp. 235–314, 341–68.
 - 16 The principal sources are E.S. Leedham-Green (ed.), *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-Lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986); and the multi-volume series of book inventories in R.J. Fehrenbach and E.S. Leedham-Green (eds.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: A Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists*, 6 vols., Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, vols. 87, 105, 117, 148, 189, 271 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992–2004), which continues through the editorial work of Joseph Black in more recent issues published through the Arizona CMRS (hereafter, all volumes in this series are simply referred to as PLRE). Sears Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance*, 2nd ed. (Godalming, Eng.: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1983), provides a fairly comprehensive list of most known extant Elizabethan booklists, a small minority of them associated with Elizabethan Catholics. For a general and recent interpretive framework, see Malcolm Walsby, "Book Lists and Their Meaning," in *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print*, Eds. Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1–26.

have relied implicitly on access to seminal as well as contemporary works of Catholic controversy and apology, and there were a number of standouts that appeared in those private academic libraries, Catholic as well as Protestant. By far, the most commonplace of these in academic collections were early editions of any number of the anti-Lutheran works of the Henrician bishop of Rochester and Catholic protomartyr John Fisher (1469–1535). Indeed, many of the same were also subsequently reprinted in multiple Elizabethan Latin editions at Paris and Cologne, indicating an enduring interest in Fisher's early cries against reformation.

Not surprisingly, other staple Catholic titles appear as well, particularly among the libraries of the Marian dons, as for example in the 1558 inventories of John Atkinson (d. 1570) of Peterhouse College and the large library of John Bateman, a Charter Fellow of Gonville and Caius whose books were inventoried in 1559.¹⁷ Others whose religious persuasion was unclear, or even clearly

17 The emphases of both these collections were almost exclusively Scholastic and Catholic in nature. Atkinson owned one copy, and Bateman two, of Fisher's *Sacri Sacerdotii Defensio contra Lutherum*, first published in 1525, and reprinted in 1562 (ARCR vol. 1, no. 434), while Bateman also possessed copies of Fisher's *De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia, adversus Johannem Oecolampadium* (Cologne, 1527); and his *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio* (1558), the last work having been reprinted six times in Latin during the Elizabethan period (ARCR vol. 1, nos. 416–21). In addition to these canonical earlier sixteenth-century Catholic tracts, Bateman also owned at least three others by the controversial conservative Catholic Stephen Gardiner, his *Confutatio Cavillationum* (1551); *A Detection of the Devils Sophistrie* (1546), STC 11591; and *A Declaration of Such True Articles as George Ioye Hath Bone about To Confute as False* (1546), STC 11588, as well as other related Catholic works such as the Marian treatise of the then-elderly Cuthbert Tunstall on the Eucharist, *De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi in Eucharistia* (Paris, 1554). Tunstall had been deprived of his bishopric of Durham for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy under Elizabeth, and was promptly thrown into prison at Lambeth Palace, where he died weeks later in 1559 after refusing an order to participate in the consecration of the incoming, and firmly Protestant, archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker. It is perhaps telling that none of Gardiner's works, influential as they may have been in their own day, were reprinted or translated by Elizabethan Catholics, though so many of Fisher's were done, strongly suggesting a closer sense of association to those whom they perceived as the first true martyrs of the English Catholic movement during the Reformation. See Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, pp. 215–16, 234–39; also 439–40; and PLRE vol. 5, p. 117; vol. .6, p. 54. Later Cambridge private libraries containing Catholic books did appear, though with less frequency, perhaps owing to the more thorough purge of Catholic faculty over the course of Elizabeth's reign. See, for example, the 1592/93 inventory of Robert Gardner of King's College, Cambridge, whose theological contents included at least four clearly Catholic titles, including a text on the rosary (possibly ARCR vol. 2, no. 95 or 546), and another of Robert Persons'

Protestant as in the cases of William Gockman (d. 1558) of St. John's College and William Aunger and Benedict Thorowgood of Trinity, appear to have been quite content to collect on both sides of the confessional divide, with impunity and without apparent sanction.¹⁸ There and elsewhere another mainstay of Elizabethan academic libraries emerges at the time in the form of the heated controversy between Jerónimo Osório da Fonseca (1506–1580), the Portuguese bishop, and his Anglican detractor, Walter Haddon (1515–1572), inspired by Osório's tract attempting to persuade the queen to accept the Catholic faith, his *A Pearle for a Prynce* (1565), in addition to other of Osório's many theological texts. Even the stock of the mainstream Cambridge stationer John Denys contained three of Osório's Catholic works as late as 1578, attesting to an enduring trade in Catholic continental imprints in the university towns of Elizabethan England. Denys himself stocked over two hundred titles, Catholic as well as Protestant.¹⁹

popular Catholic devotional manual (ARCR vol. 2, nos. 616–18). See Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, pp. 523–24.

- 18 Gockman owned several works by Jean Calvin, including two copies of the *Institutiones Christiani*, as well as Fisher's *De Veritate Corporis* and *Sacri Sacerdotii Defensio contra Lutherum*, also cited above. Aunger also owned several volumes by Luther, Calvin, and Beza, as well as Thomas Stapleton's Catholic attack on Bishop Jewell (ARCR vol. 2, nos. 730–32), and a copy of Canisius' Jesuit catechism in Latin. The same can be said of the Protestant holdings of Thorowgood's substantial library of nearly 150 titles recorded in an inventory of 1596, which was complemented by copies of Canisius, a work on the Council of Trent, and a third by or about Cardinal Pole (possibly ARCR vol. 2, nos. 1911–24 or no. 650). Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, pp. 218–21, 480, 534–35.
- 19 As his was among the most scandalous of interconfessional polemical exchanges during Elizabeth's reign, Osório is also perhaps the most ubiquitous contemporary author to appear in Cambridge private libraries at the time, whether or not their owners were known to be Catholic or Protestant. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, pp. 326–27, 330; see also pp. 386, 413, 418, 441, 472 (where four of Osorius' works appear, including his tract against Haddon, in the inventory of the vast library of Peterhouse's Catholic Andrew Perne), pp. 491, 514; and PLRE, vol. 4, pp. 199; vol. 5 pp. 21, 31, 85, 103, 119, 156, 187, 201–2, 207. See Walter Haddon, *Against Ierome Osorius Byshopp of Siluane in Portingall and against His Slaunderous Inuectiues an Aunswere Apologetically: for the Necessary Defence of the Euangelicall Doctrine and Veritie* (London: John Day, 1581), STC 12594, interestingly dedicated to the aforementioned prominent Catholic recusant, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel. The titular reference in Haddon's rebuttal is to Osório, whose work appeared in English in 1568 as *A Learned and Very Eloquent Treatie written in Latin by... Hieronymus Osorius... Wherein He Confuteth a Certayne Aunswere Made by M. Walter Haddon against the Epistle of the Said Bishoppe*, trans. John Fen (Louvain, 1568), ARCR vol. 2, no. 271. See Matthew Racine, "A Pearle for a Prynce: Jerónimo Osório and Early Elizabethan Catholics," *Catholic Historical Review* 87:3 (July 2001), pp. 401–27; Thomas Earle, "Portuguese Scholarship in Oxford in

Perhaps nowhere was this eclectic interest in cross-confessional and contemporary Catholic works more clearly evident than in the library of the conservative Master of Peterhouse, Andrew Perne (1519–1589), whose collection of some three thousand titles, according to a 1589 inventory, constituted possibly one of the largest single private libraries in all of Elizabethan England. The section of the surviving Perne inventory entitled “Catholici” alone numbered over seventeen hundred volumes, over half of the entire total, which eclipsed the comparatively small number of corresponding works of the Protestant reformers, among them substantial runs of the works of Calvin in twenty-one separate titles, Theodore Beza (1519–1605) in twenty; Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575) in eight; Bullinger’s successor in Zurich, Rudolphus Gualterus (1519–1586), in seven; and Andreas Musculus (1514–1581) in six. In point of fact, however, Perne’s library at Peterhouse contained far more Catholic imprints than any other known private lay collection in the extant records for the period, making the contents of his library particularly illustrative and revealing, even if it was also almost entirely academic in its disposition and context.

Of greatest prominence is the overwhelmingly international and scholarly tenor of Perne’s collection, for the vast majority of works contained in his rooms were written in Latin by Continental, non-English Catholic authors, reflecting a far more cosmopolitan and international interest in contemporary Catholicism than can be found in nearly any, but the most comprehensive libraries of his Catholic contemporaries.²⁰ High points included squarely theological concerns, as one might expect from an academic theologian of Perne’s position and stature, touching heavily on central subjects of religious controversy – the Eucharist, the Mass and other sacraments, the nature and life of Christ, prophecy, apocalypse, mysticism, purgatory, the apostolic tradition, and so on – as well as the more controversial subjects of heresy, true and false

the Early Modern Period: The Case of Jerónimo Osório (Hieronymus Osorius),” *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 81:7–8 (November 2004), pp. 1039–49; and Lawrence Ryan, “The Haddon-Osorio Controversy (1563–1583),” *Church History* 22:2 (June 1953), pp. 142–54. Haddon’s reply to Osório was written at the direction of the Elizabethan regime and printed both domestically and abroad in Paris under the supervision of the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Smith. This was in turn answered in print by Osório, eliciting yet another rebuttal begun by Haddon and later completed by the Protestant martyrologist John Foxe. The popularity of tracts connected to Osório is mirrored in the probate inventory of the Cambridge stationer, John Denys, in 1578. The popularity of tracts connected to Osório is further attested by its commonplace presence in university library inventories and Stationers accounts throughout the late Elizabethan period.

20 This global vision within Tridentine Catholic book culture has been recently explored in the context of the ubiquitous Jesuit catechist, Peter Canisius, by Alexandra Walsham, “Wholesome Milk and Strong Meat,” *British Catholic History* 32:3 (2015), pp. 293–314.

religion, papal authority, predestination, and other tracts personally directed against the leading Protestant theologians of the Reformation. Interestingly, far less well represented in Perne's rooms at Cambridge were contemporary works of English Catholic controversy, or the novel works of English Catholic devotion and piety so typical of the English missionary printing movement during the final two decades of Elizabeth's reign. Perne published almost nothing himself, in fact, and seems to have taken a relatively passive interest in contemporary English Catholic spirituality, devoting his attention to the advanced study of recent and current Catholic theology instead. Though each of the leading Elizabethan polemicists was represented in Perne's library – Thomas Harding, Nicholas Sander, Thomas Heskins (1540–1565), Edmund Campion, Robert Persons, William Rainolds (1544–1594), Gregory Martin, William Allen, Thomas Stapleton, Thomas Dorman (d. 1577), John Rastall (1532–1577), and so on – taken against the entirety of the library, these occupied a notably diminutive position on Perne's bookshelves.²¹

Post-Tridentine Books in Elizabethan England: Discovering Lay Catholics through their Private Libraries

More generally, occasional appearances of illegal Catholic books pepper a number of the extant private library inventories of Elizabethan England, particularly among the collections of Anglican ministers, private scholars, and antiquaries, perhaps most notably in the form of pre-Elizabethan holdovers of

21 ARCR vol. 1, nos. 135.1–147, 966; vol. 2, nos. 11–12, 168–169, 371, 374–376, 429, 514, 668, 670, 729, 732. The large majority of these works were printed on the European continent and smuggled into England, suggesting strongly that Perne possessed a continuous and active access to the illicit Catholic book trade. Among the few English Catholic devotional works in Perne's library there was apparently a copy of Thomas More's *A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, perhaps in the Elizabethan reprinting of 1573 by John Fowler (ARCR vol. 2, no. 553); a work described as Luis de Granada's "Meditations" (likely ARCR vol. 2, no. 439); and a copy of the Douai-Rheims New Testament, printed alongside Fulke's line-by-line reply to it (ARCR vol. 2, no. 172). On Perne, see David McKitterick, "Andrew Perne and His Books," in ed. David McKitterick, *Andrew Perne: Quartercentenary Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 1991), pp. 35–61. Though it was a much smaller, though not insubstantial, library, Richard Mote's collection of some 500 titles included at least eight illicit Catholic texts as well, among them Canisius's Tridentine catechism, an exchange between John Jewel and Richard Harding (ARCR vol. 2, nos. 371–378), and additional Catholic polemics by Harding, Stapleton, Persons, Martial, Martin, Rainolds and others (ARCR vol. 2, nos. 33, 371–377, 513–514, 616–617, 624–625, 668, 729). See Leedham Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, pp. 432–3, 435–6, 438, 441–2, 477, 511, 513, 516.

Marian or pre-Reformation Catholic works. In the otherwise predominantly Protestant library at Oxford of Christ Church chaplain Richard Cliff there were at least four volumes representative of the old religion, among them a Latin prayer book, a book of hours, and two apparently unreformed psalters.²² Other scholarly libraries like that of the London antiquary John Stow (1524/25–1605) contained more sizable numbers of Catholic texts that might seem to suggest an adherence to the old religion – some new and illicit, others predating the Elizabethan period – though most accounts of Stow's personal confession suggest that he remained an Anglican conformist under Elizabeth. In all, the commissioners sent by Bishop Edmund Grindal (1519–1583) to search Stow's house discovered thirty-eight titles, six of them contemporary Elizabethan Catholic polemics and all of them printed on the Continent, demonstrating at the least Stow's access to current Catholic book smugglers and book distributors. A further two dozen titles were either undated or clearly predated the Elizabethan accession. Though Stow was clearly suspected by the ecclesiastical authorities, it appears far more likely that his personal library was kept primarily to serve his own antiquarian studies of England, a conclusion strengthened by the added presence in his collection of several straightforward chronicles and annals, among them a manuscript florilegium on parchment, the *Flores historiarum*, a "brief collection in writing of matters of chronicles," and an apparent manuscript copy of his own *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles*, in addition to a recent translation of Bede's history of England, albeit translated by the contemporary Catholic controversialist Thomas Stapleton.²³

The largely antiquarian contents of Stow's library resemble another extant Catholic booklist of the period associated with the December 1586 search of the private home of an Oxford man called John Barber, though his books were also more clearly confessionally oriented.²⁴ Though little is known about this particular Barber, a possible candidate might have been the same John Barber who was examined a year earlier in May 1585 by John Underhill, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, in relation to the book distribution activities of the book-smuggling priest and martyr, Thomas Alfield (1552–1585). That examination was most likely commanded by the Privy Council, as Underhill duly reported the findings of his interview directly to Walsingham, revealing Barber's confession, that he had:

22 PLRE, vol. 3, pp. 60, 97, 98, 126.

23 British Library, Lansdowne MS 11, fols. 7–8. See Janet Wilson, "A Catalogue of the 'Unlawful' Books found in John Stow's Study on 21 February 1568/9," *Recusant History* 20:1 (May 1990), pp. 1–30. These included ARCR vol. 2, nos. 429, 649, 670, 672, 699, 733–35.

24 The National Archives, London (hereafter TNA), 12/195, fol. 137 (cited incorrectly as fol. 13 in printed inventory #243, in PLRE, vol. 8, pp. 229–31).

received a trunk with certain books therein directed unto him by a superscription, as he thinks from Mr. Alfield, to be conveyed to Gloucester, and that he opened the same trunk, and saw therein one book against the execution, and shut the trunk again and carried it to one Joyner's house, and so it was sent (as he thinketh) to Gloucester. He sayeth he never did see any books delivered by the said Alfield to the said Mr. Reynolds, or to any others and that his wife opened the chest as she writes and conveyed the books in a privy where by the said Vice Chancellor's means they were found, and after burned in the open street, the said examine sayeth that he knoweth not where his wife lyeth or remaineth.²⁵

It is also not unlikely that this is the same "John Barbor" cited in the Recusant Rolls for 1593–94 for Oxfordshire as the husband of the convicted recusant, "Ann Barbor," in the densely populated urban parish of St. Mary Magdalene.²⁶ Speculation aside, the contents of this small collection of some seventeen volumes represent a modest, but illuminating, Catholic antiquarian collection focused heavily on priestly manuals. Among them was the once ubiquitous medieval *Stella Clericorum*, a general textbook of sorts written for the benefit of the secular clergy, which was found alongside a copy of the *Pupilla Oculi*, another practical text for clergymen composed in the late fourteenth century by Joannes de Burgo, professor of theology and chancellor of the University of Cambridge, on the administration of the seven sacraments, the nature of the Decalogue, and related theological fundamentalia, whose popularity is attested by its continuous publication well into the sixteenth century.

Also found in Barber's house was a copy of Guido de Monte Rochen's medieval guide to confession, the *Manipulus Curatorum*, which was popular from the later fifteenth century onward, and continued to appear in print into the middle of the sixteenth century, particularly in Antwerp. Other evidently earlier sixteenth-century Catholic imprints intercepted in the Oxford raid

25 Gloucestershire was Alfield's native county, and the "Mr. Reynolds" Barber mentioned was examined by Underhill in the same connection; TNA 12/178, fol. 83; CRS vol. 5, pp. 108–9. The book "against the execution," is likely a direct reference to William Allen's *True, Sincere, and Modest Defence, of English Catholiques* ([1584]), ARCR vol. 2, no. 14; STC 373, a bitter response to Lord Burleigh's defense of executing Catholics as traitors, the *Execution of Justice*. Alfield was executed for high treason for his part in distributing this book to English Catholics in London.

26 CRS vol. 57, p. 127. It is also possible that this John Barber was the musician of the same name who, in 1577, became Master of the Choristers at Christ Church, Oxford, to which the patronage of the parish church of St. Mary Magdalene appears to have passed following the Reformation.

of Barber's home were Luther's archrival Johannes Eck's *Homiliarum* against heresies, reprinted throughout the first half of the sixteenth century; a copy of the 1537 Henrician *Institvtion of a Christen Man*; and a third tract on the rosary that had originally been printed at the beginning of the century, Bernardus de Busti's *Secunda Pars Rosarii*. The latter rosary tract was complimented by another more recent treatise on the Feast of the Holy Rosary ordered by Pope Pius v to be observed annually in commemoration of the Catholic victory over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571 – a command that was extended by Pope Gregory XIII at the request of the Dominican Order to allow the feast to be observed in any churches possessing an altar dedicated to the Holy Rosary, something that would have presented singular challenges to Catholics bereft of their parish churches.

Not all of Barber's religious interests were antiquarian or historical, however, for, like Stow, he proved the accusation that he did enjoy direct connections to continental Catholic book-smuggling networks through his possession of the Douai-Rheims New Testament (1582), a Tridentine Roman breviary and catechism, and the *Holsome and Catholyke Doctryne concerning the Seven Sacraments* (1558) of the deprived and often imprisoned Catholic activist Thomas Watson, the Marian bishop of Lincoln. A further association of these books with a priest, if Barber was not himself a continentally trained seminarian, is suggested by the presence of six bound manuscripts, one described as containing "a form how Jesuits should answer at their arraignments" – almost certainly instructions for Jesuit missionary priests about how to properly answer the so-called Bloody Questions: a standard set of interrogatives generally directed against captured priests and lay recusants under examination on matters of crown loyalty.²⁷

Together, Stow's and Barber's collections of Catholic books represent on a small scale a historicist, but also deeply confessional, interest that greatly commanded the imaginations of two of the most active and distinguished Catholic antiquaries of the Elizabethan period: the recusant collector Robert Hare (d. 1611) and the aristocratic magnate and avowed Catholic Lord William Howard (1563–1640) at Naworth Castle. Between these two men much of the still circulating medieval residue from the Henrician dissolution of the monasteries and other religious houses that had not ended up in the hands of Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504–1575) and, ultimately, in the Parker Library at Christ Church Cambridge, were preserved privately. As it happens, Hare was in fact a known colleague of the aforementioned John Stow, as well as a

27 On this subject, see esp. Patrick McGrath, "The Bloody Questions Reconsidered," *Recusant History* 20:3 (May 1991), pp. 305–19.

one-time servant to the brother-in-law of the Catholic patroness Lady Paulet (previously Lady Waldegrave) of Borley, who would later be implicated by association with the circle of Anthony Babington (1561–1586), the conspirator.²⁸ A lifelong Catholic, Hare undertook to acquire a substantial, if also extremely eclectic, collection of medieval and Renaissance Catholic manuscripts, some 51 in all, in addition to nearly 100 largely pre-Reformation Catholic imprints, the majority of which he successfully gifted to various colleges at Cambridge, without notable protest or incident. Among the manuscripts he acquired were important Catholic histories, annals, and chronicles from the abbey libraries of St. Alban, St. Augustine, Syon, Abbotsbury, and elsewhere. During his travels in the Spanish Netherlands – where in 1565 he was apparently handed an English translation of Thomas Stapleton's polemical *Apologie of Fridericus Staphylus* on the proper understanding of the Holy Scriptures – Hare is known to have purchased additional early manuscripts owned previously by the Carmelites of Ghent and the Friars Minor of Dordrecht.²⁹

Hare's modest antiquarian Catholic collection was significantly less distinguished than that of Lord William Howard, the younger son of the executed Duke of Norfolk and a devoted Catholic who ranked among the most elite aristocratic recusants living in Elizabethan England at the time. Lord William stood as a leader of the Howard faction after the death of his brother Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel in 1595, and nowhere was his devotion to his faith more vividly reflected than in his own book collection of some 75 manuscripts – a handful of them contemporary, the majority medieval – and at least 250 imprints, one-third of that number religious, and almost entirely Catholic, in

28 See Andrew Watson, "Robert Hare's Books," in eds. A.S. Edwards, *et al.*, *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths* (London: British Library, 2000), pp. 209–32, citation at p. 209.

29 ARCR vol. 2, no. 737, now in the British Library under the shelf mark "698, d. I." See Watson, "Robert Hare's Books," pp. 213–14, 226. Other manuscripts were presented to Hare as gifts by his coreligionists, including at least one presentation manuscript condemning Lollards that had originally been given to Richard II. It was later presented to Hare by Thomas More's relation Anthony Roper. Among the most significant imprints collected by Hare were his copies of Rolewinck's influential chronicle of world history, an incunabulum of the *Fasciculus Temporum* (1475); Hartmann Schedel's monumental Nuremberg Chronicle in the rare German edition; a Schoeffer Bible of 1472; and a copy of John Caius' *De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiae* (1568), apparently personally annotated by the author. Like the aforementioned Barber of Oxford, Hare also owned copies of the *Stella Clericorum* and Bernardinus de Bustis' *Rosarium Sermonum*, both of his in early editions of 1500.

nature.³⁰ While Lord William's interests were more ecumenical than Hare's in his equal attention to history and genealogy, among his earliest manuscripts were Catholic texts by and about the saints and Church Fathers, among them Jerome, Ambrose, Anselm, and Bonaventure, as well as early tracts on any number of devotional subjects, from an illuminated book of hours to works of canon law and unreformed treatises on Adam and Eve and the Blessed Virgin Mary.³¹ The printed works of theology and controversy at Naworth were more contemporary in most cases and overwhelmingly Latinate, as with Perne's collection, among them an Antwerp *Martyrologium Romanum* and a Tridentine catechism, both reflective of his interest in the Church both before and well after Trent.³² Other contemporary English Catholic authors appeared as well in Lord Howard's castle, though not in large numbers, including Thomas Stapleton, the protomartyr Bishop John Fisher, and the Marian conservative Cuthbert Tunstal (1474–1559), whose seminal works appeared alongside continental controversialists popular among English Catholic readers such as the aforementioned Osório, Robert Bellarmine, and Stanislaus Hosius. Howard also owned the works of church historians, spiritualists, and hagiographers such as Laurentius Surius (1523–1578), his famous *Vitae Sanctorum* in an early edition of 1578, and the ever popular devotional works of Luis de Granada.³³ Lord Howard's interest was clearly more polemical and continental than anything else, though it showed little overt emphasis on English Catholicism, a

30 See Hugh Todd, *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in Unum Collecti* (Oxford, 1697); G. Ornsby (ed.), *Selections from the Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle: With an Appendix, containing Some of His Papers, and Letters, and Other Documents, Illustrative of His Life and Times*, Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. 68 (Durham, Eng.: Andrews and Co., 1878), pp. 469–87. On Lord Howard's many relationships with his coreligionists during Elizabeth's reign, as well as in his service at the Jacobean court, see Howard Reinmuth, "Lord William Howard and His Catholic Associations," *Recusant History* 12:5 (April 1974), pp. 226–34.

31 Ornsby, *Household Books*, pp. 470–72.

32 Ornsby, *Household Books*, pp. 473, 475, 477.

33 Ornsby, *Household Books*, pp., 474–77. A longtime resident at Naworth and the primary Catholic antiquarian colleague of Lord William was the Cornish hagiographer and recusant, Nicholas Roscarrock, who had been imprisoned for harboring a priest, as well as tortured while resident in the Tower at the same time as Lord Howard, before moving on with him to Naworth. The 1592 Antwerp tract by Stapleton against the Protestant Whitaker, *Auoritatīs Ecclesiasticae*, was noted in a manuscript as having come to Lord Howard after its purchase at Dunkirk for 2s. For a very brief and impressionistic look at the fuller contents of the Naworth library see David Mathew, "The Library at Naworth" in ed. Douglas Woodruff, *For Hilaire Belloc: Essays in Honor of His 71st Birthday* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1942), pp. 115–29.

fact witnessed by the only English-language Catholic polemic in the entire library, Richard Bristow's defense of William Allen against Fulke. The Protestant Reformation, by contrast, was represented in a token 1569 Genevan edition of Calvin's *Institutes*.³⁴ More like Perne and Hare, and less like Stow and Barber, Lord Howard appears to have identified with a much broader and more international form of Catholicism, perceived as being united in its history and antiquity as well as in its doctrine and global compass.

Among Howard's peers in the Catholic gentry and aristocracy were several other large-scale collectors of Catholic books active during the Elizabethan period. Lord Vaux of Harrowden's library, for example, though its particular contents apparently remained unrecorded at his death, was valued at the great sum of £100 shortly after the queen's death. The Catholic cousin to the queen, Thomas Lord Paget, is known to have laid out slightly more than £14 for seventy-five volumes in the early 1580s, including contemporary illicit Catholic titles by Thomas Stapleton (for which he paid the not insubstantial sum of 13s. 4d.) and Luis de Granada, immediately before Paget's own religious exile on the European continent following revelations implicating him in the Throckmorton Plot against the Queen.³⁵

Sir Thomas Cornwallis (1518/19–1604), a Marian privy councilor and devoted Catholic who was deprived of office at Elizabeth's accession, spent much of the latter queen's reign in rustic retirement and much occupied with quiet reading – including reading from Catholic devotional works while sitting in occasional conformity to requirements for periodic parish church attendance.³⁶ For decades he professed his loyalty to the crown as well as to the Catholic faith, corresponding widely with friends and coreligionists alike, and quietly acquiring a modest library of Catholic books. Cornwallis may well have had local connections to Catholic book-smuggling networks during the early period of the Jesuit mission in the 1580s, something he was directly suspected of when several men – Charles Ratcliffe, John Sutton, and John Bacon – were interrogated about their apparent possession, in conjunction with a suspected priest and book smuggler Mountford Scott, of the Douai-Rheims New Testament (1582), and association with two other of the most infamous Catholic

34 Ornsby, *Household Books*, pp. 474, 476.

35 Godfrey Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden, A Recusant Family* (Newport, Eng.: R. H. Johns, 1953), p. 406. Anstruther makes repeated, though generally unspecific, references to the presence of various Catholic liturgical books in the Vaux home. See also Andrew Anderson, "The Books of Thomas, Lord Paget, (ca 1544–1590)," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6 (1972–76), pp. 226–42.

36 ODNB, "Sir Thomas Cornwallis."

books of the period: William Allen's attack on Lord Burghley's anti-Catholic *Execution of justice in England*, his *A True, Sincere, and Modest Defence, of English Catholiques* (1584); and the rollicking, scandalous account of the Earl of Leicester, *Copie of a Letter* (1584), more commonly referred to as *Leicester's Commonwealth*. It is notable that the latter was also the only specific contemporary Elizabethan Catholic imprint that was singled out in a Royal Proclamation for special scorn, having outraged the Queen and the Leicester faction at court, precipitating a massive reproduction of the book in scribal forms, owing to its scarcity in print and wild, scandalizing popularity.³⁷ Ratcliffe and Sutton appear to have been imprisoned by the court of the King's Bench for possessing copies of the Catholic New Testament, though they were subsequently bailed, possibly by Cornwallis himself.³⁸ Elsewhere in Cornwallis' letters to friends and agents, recent Catholic titles appeared with regularity alongside instructions for their purchase, among them St. Vincent of Lerins's *Golden Treatise* against heresies, which was translated into English twice; an unnamed title unfavorably comparing Calvin to the prophet Mohammed; and Robert Persons' illicit attack on the royal proclamation condemning Catholic priests of 1591, his *Elizabethae Angliae Reginae*. When Cornwallis attempted occasionally to conform to parish church services in avoidance of recusancy fines, he was said to sit, while others kneeled, quietly reading from Catholic devotional texts from his private library.³⁹

A similar obstinacy is evident in the case of Sir John Southworth (1526–1595), one of whose homes, likely Samlesbury Hall in Lancashire, was raided and searched in November 1592, yielding a private gentry Catholic library of over two dozen volumes.⁴⁰ The record of Southworth's seemingly endless contretemps with the Elizabethan authorities on account of his religious beliefs is as illustrative as it is extraordinary, and merits treatment in some detail.

37 See D.C. Peck (ed.), *Leicester's Commonwealth: The Copy of a Letter Written by a Master of Art of Cambridge (1584) and Related Documents* (Athens, OH and London: Ohio University Press, 1985).

38 TNA SP 12/113, fols. 113–17. The books in question are ARCR vol. 2, nos. 14, 31, 173. The State Papers calendar posits a possible May 1577 date for these documents, but explicit references to titles such as Burghley's *Execution of Justice* are cited specifically in the interrogatories prepared by the authorities for the suspects, suggesting these date from or after 1584. None of these manuscripts bear contemporary manuscript dates.

39 ARCR vol. 1, nos. 885–886; vol. 2, nos. 582, 831. Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS, 285/27, 33, 36. See Patrick McGrath and Joy Rowe, "The Recusancy of Sir Thomas Cornwallis," *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 28 (1958–1960), pp. 226–71, citations at pp. 240, 256–58.

40 Huntington Library, Ellesmere MS 2088.

In 1568 Southworth proved himself one of the most outspoken Elizabethan recusants of his generation, and was arrested accordingly and imprisoned at Chester Castle under charges that he was not “repairing to church, declining to receive the new sacrament, or otherwise to take wine with the parson as the Lancashire gentry contemptuously call it, and for speaking against the Book of Common Prayer.” He was also accused of the more severe capital offense of actively harboring ordained Catholic priests in his home, for which he was committed to the charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom Southworth refused to submit despite a direct order for him to do so from the Privy Council. Apparently released shortly thereafter, the historian John Strype (1525–1605) reported that in the following year Southworth spent twenty days in Bath in an ostensible effort to hatch a Catholic rebellion in the western counties to match the expected force from his home county during the anticipated Revolt of the Northern Earls.⁴¹

Although nothing seems to have come from that alleged sedition, Southworth clearly remained a noted and much suspected recusant throughout the rest of his life, a fact confirmed by the appearance of his name in an official 1574 list of the most prominent English Catholics at the time, and by various further terms of incarceration at the New Fleet prison at Manchester and the Salford jail between 1581 and 1584, where he proved to be a most obstreperous and plaintive prisoner shortly after his commission there “for his obstinacy in popery.”⁴² Southworth begged the Council of the North either for his release, or for the provision of a servant in June 1581 and was again ordered to remain a prisoner at Manchester in January 1581/82, at which time his London home was reported to the Council as a great abode for “some persons evil-minded to religion.” Bailed once more within a matter of weeks, Southworth was ordered to appear before the earl of Derby the following month on the grounds that “if obstinate, he is to be recommitted to the prison at Manchester” and allowed outdoor exercise only in the presence of his jailor. There Southworth seems to have remained as late as November 1582 and, months later, once more in February 1582/83, a subsequent petition to the Council for favor on his behalf was declined.

Undeterred, Southworth and his allies carried the matter all the way to Lord Burghley himself who, according to a Council record for 20 November 1583, ordered an investigation of a complaint that Southworth was ill treated by his warden and denied certain privileges there – a complaint he had made once

41 John Strype, *The History of the Life and Acts of the Most Reverend Father in God, Edmund Grindal, the First Bishop of London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1821), 204–5.

42 CRS vol. 13, p. 91.

before to the Council in May 1581. Still unrepentant, Southworth was again returned as a recusant in a certificate of the Justices of the Peace for Lancashire in June 1584, and in 1587 another report was made that a seminary priest named James Cowper had been lodged at Samlesbury Hall by Sir John's younger son, Thomas Southworth (1548–1616), and that he and several others were reported to have heard Mass there. Despite all these troubles, which reached even the highest levels of ecclesiastical and state government, Sir John Southworth was finally pardoned by the Queen, and his properties and estates restored to him, when he at last submitted to abjuration before a special commission of conformity on 1 December 1587. As this was surely an act of desperation calculated to preserve his family and what remained of his former wealth, rather than an instance of sincere conversion, Southworth's name continued to appear on lists of prominent recusants in the subsequent years, including an extensive inventory of suspected Catholics compiled during the year of the Armada, arguably the most concentrated and severe period of state persecution against Catholics.⁴³

43 CRS vol. 22, p. 120. While the full circumstances surrounding Southworth's uncharacteristic decision to conform are not entirely clear, his reason was likely a purely pragmatic one, as at least one contemporary source recorded that Southworth, "faced with the forfeiture of his goods and chattels to the value of £388 and the necessity of finding a yearly rent of £280.16s.8d from lands seized for his unpaid arrears of £1,060, he [i.e. Southworth] was induced to conform." Sir John's pardon effectively canceled hundreds of pounds in outstanding arrears up to that date, and again on 1 July 1592 (just four months from the date on which his library was inventoried by the Elizabethan authorities), "by reason of his continued conformity," the archbishop of Canterbury ordered the elimination of a further £360 in recusancy fines against him. Family difficulties had long plagued Sir John as well, perhaps most notably in 1581 when the Council had been informed that Southworth laid plans to completely disinherit his eldest son and heir, Edward Southworth, "only because he [Edward] is not ill affected (like the father) but well given in religion: and to dispose his lands to some other of his children." Irritated, the Council ordered the diocesan bishop "to learn what he can of Sir John's purpose, so that in case the bad father have so ill a meaning towards his eldest and best son, some order may be taken to stay his purpose, and to preserve the inheritance for his right heir." Though the records surrounding the affair are not entirely clear, Southworth may have been ordered to pay a bond of £500 "for his repairing with all speed to London to attend before the Council; provided that before he goes he pays to Mr. Worsley all money due for his diet, &c." On 13 July 1581, the Council noted that Southworth's son was a suitor for his father's removal to London and their potential reconciliation. It is not clear if the two were personally reconciled, however, and Edward seems to have remained in London at least until just before his father's death, returning to Salmesbury Hall only in 1594. Thanks to the intervention of the Privy Council, Southworth's ample estates did finally go to Edward after his father's

Southworth's circumstances were distinguished not only by the intensity of his prosecution but also by his concomitant interest in the contemporary literature of the Catholic missionary printing movement, which likely kept coming in steady supply through his frequent associations with missionary priests, no doubt abetted by the preponderance of Catholics living in his native Lancashire, by far the most populous Elizabethan Catholic county. Richard Brereton's November 1592 search of Samlesbury Hall was apparently authorized by the earl of Derby under the renewed suspicion that seminary priests were once again resident there under Southworth's protection, giving Brereton and his men license to discover and deliver all "such writings, pamphlets, papers or other suspicious and superstitious things as you shall find in the said search."⁴⁴ The resulting inventory of Southworth's library demonstrates that Sir John's fiery commitment to the old religion was amply reflected in his great interest in the major English Catholic polemical tracts of his day, many of them smuggled from abroad, including William Allen's *Apologie* for the two English seminaries at Douai and Rome, Robert Persons' apology for Campion, his *Defence of the Censure*, in addition to Southworth's own copy of the Douai-Rheims New Testament. A further two titles were printed at underground domestic Catholic presses by William Carter and by Persons himself at Stonor Park.⁴⁵ While more than half of the titles in the Southworth inventory were not specified, another particularly interesting aspect of his collection was the fact that one-third of all the volumes reported in the list were in fact handwritten manuscripts ("all the rest of the books are written"), suggesting a substantial reliance at the time on scribal publication and manuscript circulation in Southworth's native Lancashire, far from the most active underground Elizabethan Catholic printing and book smuggling centres, in and around the London metropolis.

death in 1595. See CRS vol. 57, p. xxxi; Roger Manning, "Elizabethan Recusancy Commissions," *The Historical Journal* 15:1 (March 1972), p. 30.

- 44 CRS vol. 60, p. 37. It is known that two of Sir John's younger sons, John and Christopher, went on to become ordained priests. See CRS vol. 1, pp. 74; vol. 6, p. 158n; also CRS vol. 60, pp. 37–41; John Harland (ed.), *The Lancashire Lieutenancy under the Tudors and Stuarts: The Civil and Military Government of the County, as Illustrated by a Series of Royal and Other Letters; Orders of the Privy Council, the Lord Lieutenant, and Other Authorities*, Chetham Society, vols. 49–50 (Manchester, Eng.: Chetham Society, 1859), pp. 123, 126, 128, 133–35, 144, 190–91; Joseph Gillow, "Lord Burghley's Map of Lancashire in 1590: With Notes on the Designated Manorial Lords, Biographical and Genealogical, and Briefe Histories of Their Estates Traced Down to the Present Day," in CRS vol. 4, pp. 19–20. On the family estate, see James Croston, *A History of the Ancient Hall of Samlesbury* (London: Chiswick Press, 1871).
- 45 ARCR vol. 2, nos. 6, 173, 524, 624–625.

In contrast to Southworth's controversialism, both personally and in the books that he owned, a diametrically opposite picture emerges from an inventory of Catholic books seized in a pursuivant raid on the household of a Catholic woman, Lady Isabel Hampden of Stoke Poges, a widow resident in Buckinghamshire in January 1583/84. The Catholic books found throughout her household showed almost none of the polemical emphasis of Southworth's collection, consisting almost entirely of devotional, liturgical, and spiritual works in the English vernacular.⁴⁶ Lady Hampden's misfortunes began with the arrival of the rigorously anti-Catholic parliamentarian and county officer Paul Wentworth, a resident of nearby Burnham, Buckinghamshire, who appears actively to have searched out Catholics throughout Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire in his official capacity. Wentworth's particular brand of anti-Catholicism was memorably echoed in his posthumous, commemorative funerary inscription in the church at Burnham describing him as "most comfortably strong in faith, steadfast in hope, fervent in love, a zealous professor of the truth, and an earnest detester of all superstition."⁴⁷ The resulting inventory of Lady Hampden's home is particularly rich in its attention to liturgical and other Catholic relics and artifacts, as well as specific books and manuscripts found on the premises, and is perhaps of greatest interest for the manner in which it contrasts the titles apparently owned by the lady of the house and those associated with its male residents and servants.

Wentworth's discovery of particular manuscript letters citing the reconciliation of Lady Hampden's servants and family members to Rome would

46 TNA SP 12/167, fols. 125–26; PLRE, vol. 8, pp. 247–50. Lady Isabel Hampden was formally convicted of recusancy several years later, alongside William Fitton, who was described as a gentleman of Stoke Poges as well. Her possessions were valued at the time at £17. 9s, and were seized on 12 October 1588, during the year of the Spanish Armada. See CRS vol. 22, p. 124; vol. 71, pp. 62, 76. While it is unclear which of the many Elizabethan Hampden families to which Lady Hampden was related, the strongest possible link might have been the Catholic antiquary Henry Ferrers (1550–1633), whose paternal grandmother, Katherine Hampden, was daughter and coheir of Sir John Hampden (d. 1553) of Hampden, Buckinghamshire. Though never convicted as a recusant, his diary suggests Catholic leanings, a fact perhaps also confirmed by the leasing of his Warwickshire estate of Baddesley Clinton to the prominent Catholic gentry woman Anne Vaux and her sister during the 1590s, a place made famous years later as a major gathering place for English priests. See British Library, Additional Manuscripts 4102; ODNB, "Henry Ferrars." Stoke Poges is not to be confused with the other two Stokes in Buckinghamshire, Stoke Hammond and Stoke Mandeville. Stoke Poges is the only one of the three that was actually located within the Buckinghamshire Hundred of Stoke.

47 See ODNB, "Paul Wentworth."

have been particularly damning, as would the detection of formal indulgences – papal instruments roundly condemned by proclamation and statute as seditious and inimical to Crown and Parliament – both of which strongly suggested priestly traffic through the home. The suspicion of priest harboring was buttressed by the colorful account in Wentworth's report of the approach of a man named Reason to the Hampden house, only to beat a hasty retreat once he saw that it was being searched:

One whose name is Reason coming to the gate while the house was in searching, he conceiving some suspect of the company, which he saw, began to ride back again apace, but he was overtaken and searched. There was found about him one old printed song book, which was sent unto Carleton as appeared by a letter sent there withal, and one other letter sent unto Mr. Fytton from one Mr. Byrd of the Queen's Majesty's Chapel. There was also found about him the *Officium beate Mariae*, which he said was his own prayer book.⁴⁸

This "Mr. Byrd" mentioned by Wentworth was almost certainly the celebrated English Catholic composer William Byrd "of the Queen's Majesty's Chapel," and his man here called "Reason," was John Reason, a singer from Lincoln who was often cited for recusancy alongside William's staunchly Catholic wife, Julian Byrd, until his imprisonment and death during the plague of 1603–4.⁴⁹ The man called Fytton was indeed found to be present in Lady Hampden's home, hence Byrd's servant's stopping by her house to deliver the letter to him. Fytton also appears to have shared Reason's and Byrd's musical inclinations, for in his chamber in the Hampden home was found an "instruction to sing mass," further suggesting that his real identity was either that of a missionary priest or, at the least, an enthusiastic fellow worshipper at a recently planned or anticipated illicit Catholic mass.

Lady Hampden's devotion to the Old Religion hardly remained hidden in her home, as her bedchamber was found to be decorated with various sacred images and further appointed with illicit books, among them a copy of Laurence Vaux's Catholic catechism, ostensibly for use in catechizing her servants and their children. Lady Hampden's maid had also openly adorned

48 See David Mateer, "William Byrd's Middlesex Recusancy," *Music and Letters* 78:1 (February 1997): pp. 1–14.

49 J. Harley, *William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), p. 63; ODNB, "William Byrd." The London stationer Thomas East was known to print Catholic masses in the mainstream press for Byrd, and ample records survive of Byrd and others singing these when masses were actively performed by priests in private Catholic residences. See Weston, *Autobiography*, pp. 71–72.

her chamber with religious pictures and made great show of personal Catholic piety through the presence there of a rosary and an accompanying *Jesus Psalter*, with its ritual repetition of the names of Jesus and Mary organized in the manner of conventional rosary devotions. Indeed, Lady Hampden's entire household seems to have constituted a kind of sacred retreat in its own right, as two further copies of the *Jesus Psalter* were found elsewhere in the house, as well as the discovery inside a chest belonging to a [Joan?] Craye of the popular Catholic *Manual of Prayers* (1583) compiled by George Flinton, who also managed Robert Persons' Catholic missionary press at Rouen. This copy of the *Manual* at the Hampden home must have been printed and smuggled into England within a matter of months leading up to its subsequent discovery in rural Buckinghamshire.

More Catholic paraphernalia were located in other rooms, including an image of Christ, "two pictures, one upon yellow sarcenet, the other upon parchment," as well as "twelve several pictures rolled together" in Fytton's chamber, and a chest of Mistress Fytton's needlework that included another picture of Christ and other needlework set into frames for the embroidering, it was suggested, of priestly copes. Elsewhere a hamper was found that had been used to store a number of "papistical books" apparently belonging to a current or former prisoner, almost certainly an ordained priest, at Wisbech. In another chamber belonging to a man called "Carleton" a picture of the Apocalypse was identified as well as one of John Rastell's controversial attacks on Bishop Jewel's challenge sermon at St. Paul's Cross. This apparently solitary polemic and one other, a copy of Gregory Martin's *Treatise of Schism*, were otherwise completely outnumbered by works of practical devotion, including another book of hours and another copy of the Douai-Rheims New Testament. The Wentworth inventory also cites additional confessional manuscript correspondence, a "relic of hair" and various other "papistical books" in a room above the stable apparently occupied by Lady Hampden's groundsman and housekeeper. Few extant household inventories from raids of Elizabethan Catholic households yields such a profound, eclectic, richly documented and colorful array of Catholic imprints and other religious matter as Lady Hampden's, and therefore perhaps merits further investigation.

Bookish Conspiracy: Lay Catholic Books and the Babington Plot

The overwhelming emphasis on works of practical divinity in Lady's Hampden's home is perfectly mirrored in another Elizabethan Buckingham gentry book inventory, that of George Brome and his two sisters, following a search conducted several years later, in the summer of 1586 at their own country seat

at Borstall. The added fact that Brome himself was tainted with suspicion of Catholic conspiracy relating to the Babington Plot only enriches the revealing nature of the Brome library inventory. George Brome was the eldest son of Sir Christopher Brome (d. 1589) of Halton, Oxfordshire, and Eleanor Windsor (d. 1592), the second daughter of William, 2nd Lord Windsor of Stanwell, marking his family with clear and influential aristocratic connections. His siblings included one younger brother, Thomas Brome, and six sisters, Elizabeth, Bridget, Anne, Mary, Eleanor, and Katherine, the last of these having married John Dynham, Esq., also of Borstall. It would seem that George and his two younger sisters, Elizabeth and Bridget, were all resident at Borstall, perhaps in the home of their sister Katherine, at the time of the search.⁵⁰

The speculative date of 1586 given to this raid derives from Brome's own documented links to the Catholic conspirator Anthony Babington and the revelations surrounding his plot to free Mary Queen of Scots and depose Queen Elizabeth in that year. This connection, confirmed in part by the location of the Brome book inventory immediately before Babington's own in the same Lansdowne manuscript, is further supported by external evidence elsewhere in the State Papers linking the two to a report of August 1586 by the Buckinghamshire JP, John Croke, to the Privy Council. Croke's information amounted to an accusation made by a Hugh Davies of Oxfordshire, the "late of Boarstall, minister" who claimed hearing Brome boast to him that if he had he been in charge of the Babington affair it would have come off with far greater success.⁵¹ Davies also claimed that Brome's servant Henry Ferris and his friend Robert Atkins had both "been often in hand" with Brome to persuade Davies "to forsake the ministry and to go over the seas to Rheims" to take up holy orders. They had furthermore promised "to help him to such books as would convert him if he would read them," and declaimed the Church of England as a *politique* vehicle of "Machiavelli's religion." According to Davies, Atkins went on to state that he would be happy to be executed for being a Catholic, as then he would obtain instant martyrdom, and expressed a further desire to show Davies a copy of the condemned Catholic polemic *Leicester's Commonwealth*.⁵² When

50 See William Turner (ed.), *The Visitations of the County of Oxford* (London: Harleian Society, 1871), p. 230; White Kennett (ed.), *Parochial Antiquities Attempted in the History of Ambrosden, Burcester, and Other Adjacent Parts in the Counties of Oxford and Bucks*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1818), vol. 2, p. 523; and, on the parish and manor of Borstall, William Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Buckingham*, 4 vols. (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1905; rpt. London: Dawsons, 1969), vol. 4, pp. 9–14.

51 British Library, Lansdowne MS 50/76–77.

52 Charles Arundell, *The Copie of a Leter, Wryten by a Master of Arte of Cambridge, to His Friend in London, concerning Some Talke...about the Present State, and Some Proceedings of the Erle of Leycester* (n.p. [Paris?], 1584), ARCR vol. 2, no. 31.

asked why he had endured all of these attacks on the Church of England, Davies confessed that he was “loathe to displease the said George Brome for that he had [a] living at his commandment,” an ecclesiastical benefice just a few miles away at Holton.

Two days later, Croke conducted two early-morning surprise searches of the homes of Brome and Atkins that yielded various “coffers, cupboards, closets, caskets, and secret places,” as well as a host of Catholic paraphernalia. The authorities appear to have been hopeful of finding a secretly harbored priest as is suggested by their complaint about uncovering nothing but a few popish objects – an Agnus Dei, holy grains, and so forth, as well as religious statues that the authorities apparently burnt – and the “corrupt and superstitious” books recorded in their book inventory. Though it is unclear if any more punitive action was taken against Brome and his associates, Davies did return to Croke in the weeks following the search with the further complaint that Brome and Atkins had threatened him with physical harm, precipitating an order that Brome, Atkins, and Davies should appear together before the Privy Council to explain the matter. To that end Croke also sent a number of the Brome books directly to the Council, in all “twelve of the worst of them and most portable,” including copies of the protomartyr Thomas More’s *Utopia* “and other [of] his [i.e., Brome’s] works, in Latin,” including Edmund Campion’s seminal and scandalous *Rationes Decem, Persons’ Brief Discourse*, and even a copy of Dante’s *Divina Commedia*.⁵³ The matter remained under dispute until Walsingham received a counter-complaint from George Brome’s influential father and former JP for the county, Sir Christopher Brome, who had argued that the search of Borstall House was unwarranted.⁵⁴ Despite his apparent Catholicism and troubles with the Privy Council, George Brome seems to have emerged unharmed by the affair and, a decade later in 1597, even to have served as High Sheriff of Oxfordshire.⁵⁵

53 A partial version of the Brome booklist, which includes a number of significant transcription errors appears in Southern, *Recusant Prose*, pp. 40–41. See also Leona Rostenberg, *The Minority Press and the English Crown, 1558–1625: A Study in Repression* (Nieuwkoop, The Netherlands; B. de Graff, 1971), p. 49.

54 TNA SP 12/192, fol. 82; 12/193, fols. 16, 19, 32. British Library, Lansdowne MS 50/76, fol. 163. PLRE vol. 8, pp. 232–41.

55 Various elements of the Brome book episode are briefly described in Mary Stapleton, *A History of the Post-Reformation Catholic Missions in Oxfordshire, with an Account of the Families Connected with Them* (London: H. Frowde, 1906); and Christine Kelly, *Blessed Thomas Belson: His Life and Times, 1563–1589* (Gerrards Cross, Eng., and Chester Springs, PA: Colin Smythe, 1987), pp. 48–49.

Of the particular circumstances surrounding the Brome book inventory what emerges as perhaps most telling are the rather dramatic differences between those Catholic imprints found in George Brome's rooms and those identified separately as belonging to his two sisters. In the rooms specifically occupied by Elizabeth and Bridget Brome, at least ten volumes were found, and though none is particularly surprising – nearly all ranked among the most commonplace Catholic devotional tracts to be named in Elizabethan Catholic book inventories – they were nonetheless distinguished by their complete focus on practical devotion and spirituality. Apart from three volumes identified as “Latin psalters,” the remaining works were all printed for a lay English audience in the vernacular, among them a copy of the same unreformed catechism by Laurence Vaux that had been located in Lady's Hampden's bedchamber, as well as Persons' spiritual tract, *The Christian Directory*, and two other unspecified liturgical titles, one described simply as a “treatise in English of confession and penance imprinted at Louvain,” and the other as “an induction to devotion for Ladies and gentlemen showing the significances of the mass and implements to it.”⁵⁶ Novel continental treatises of Tridentine spirituality were also present, including recent translations of works by Luis de Granada, and Gaspar Loarte's composite Jesuit *Exercise of a Christian Life* in Stephen Brinkley's translation, one of two known editions at the time that had either been published domestically on the secret press of William Carter, or on Robert Persons' press in Rouen and smuggled into the realm.⁵⁷

Conversely, George Brome's interests clearly tended toward works of religious controversy and to scholarly theological texts as demonstrated in his larger collection of some eighteen titles recorded during the Borstall raid. Whereas Elizabeth and Bridget were content with Robert Persons' sole devotional tract, George inclined to the latter's polemical treatise on parish church recusancy, the *Brief Discours containing Certayne Reasons Why Catholiques Refuse to Goe*

56 ARCR vol. 2, nos. 193–196, 616–618, 748–752.

57 ARCR vol. 2, nos. 63–64. Loarte (d. 1578), variously the Rector of the Catholic colleges at Messina and Genoa and a Penitentiary of Loreto and Rome, wrote extensively throughout the third quarter of the sixteenth century, including additional works on the nature of the rosary, and a meditation on the Passion of Christ that were also translated into English. See ARCR vol. 2, nos. 269–270, 896–898. It must be noted that the absence of other kinds of religious books from the Brome sisters' rooms did not necessarily preclude their access to the books in their brother's chamber. These practical works of spirituality in the sisters' room might also have been associated with their role in the catechesis of the children of the household, a role often relegated to the gentry ladies of a household such as at Borstall.

to Church.⁵⁸ Though George Brome did also own a Parisian imprint of Gregory Martin's imaginative Roman pilgrimage narrative, *A Treatyse of Christian Pergrination*, the only other English-language book found in his room was a Louvainist polemic by John Rastell attacking Thomas Cooper's *An Apologie of Priuate Masse*.⁵⁹ All the rest of George Brome's books were either in Latin, French, or Italian, and of that remaining number only Canisius' catechism in Latin, another in French adjoined to a tract on the Mass, and the *Cabinet de l'Ame Fidelle* of Louis de Blois, the abbot and reformer of the Benedictine abbey of Lessies in northern France, can be described as largely spiritual in nature.⁶⁰

The remainder of George Brome's books was as eclectic as it was cosmopolitan, including titles rarely found in any other recorded Catholic book collections of the Elizabethan period. Among them was Jean Talpin's learned tract on Christian statecraft *La Police Chrestienne*; René Benoist's *Exposition et Résolution* on passages in the New Testament propounded by the "heretics" against the Catholic King of France; and a French edition of the fifteenth-century historian and naturalist Baptiste Platine de Cremone's Catholic compendium *Les Vies, Faicts et Gestes des Saints Fères*.⁶¹ More squarely polemical was Brome's copy of Campion's seminal challenge to the Elizabethan Church and State the *Rationes Decem*, which attracted added scrutiny by the Borstall pursuivants, no doubt, because of its title-page image bearing the characteristic Jesuit sunburst surrounding the 'IHS' *Iesus Christus* monogram, surmounted by a cross above and the three nails of the Crucifixion below. Other controversies included a Latin tract condemning Calvinist doctrines against the Real Presence in the Eucharist by the Dutch inquisitor and Bishop of Roermond, Wilhelmus

58 ARCR vol. 2, nos. 613. This controversial text enjoining English Catholics to resist occasional conformity was secretly printed in England in 1580, revealing the Bromes' rarified access to sources of underground domestic Catholic book distribution at the inauguration of the Jesuit Mission that same year.

59 ARCR vol. 2, nos. 523, 673.

60 Louis de Blois, *Cabinet de l'Ame Fidelle, où Sont Contenus, le Miroir Spirituel, Escrit par Loys de Blois...la Bague Spirituelle, la Couronne Spirituelle, le Coffret Spirituel* (Louvain, 1563).

61 (1) Jean Talpin, *La Police Chrestienne: Liure Tresvtile & Necessaire à Toutes Manieres de Gens* (Paris, 1568; rpt. 1573); (2) René Benoist, *Exposition et Résolution de Certains Principaux Passages tant du Vieil que du Nouveau Testament* (Lyon, 1579); (3) Baptiste Platine de Cremone, *Les Vies, Faicts et Gestes des Saints Pères, Papes, Empereurs et Roys de France, Ensemble les Hérésies, Schismes, Concilles, Guerres et Autres Choses Dignes de Mémoire Advenues tant en la Chrétienté* (Paris, 1544; rpt. 1551).

Lindanus, and an Italian translation of Nicolas Granier's militant Catholic "sword of the faith."⁶²

George Brome's interest in Catholic Church history extended to at least two patristic authors as well: Cassian's foundational treatise on monasticism and the interior spiritual life – a central theme of Tridentine spiritual tracts – and Didymus the Blind' treatise on the Holy Spirit.⁶³ In addition to his copy of Dante, Brome, like so many of his coreligionists, also read from the collected works of the Catholic protomartyr Thomas More, his copy apparently having come to him through the hands of the Cornish recusant and aforementioned Catholic antiquary, Nicholas Roscarrock, a long-time resident at Naworth with Lord William Howard.⁶⁴

The marked contrast between George Brome's advanced taste in theological and polemical Catholic books and the fundamentally devotional interests of Lady Hampden and, it might be presumed, the Brome sisters is mirrored in the inventory of the Catholic conspirator himself, Anthony Babington, compiled shortly after the search at Borstall, indeed on the very day of his own arraignment, 13 September 1586.⁶⁵ Though he was best known as a traitor to

62 Over a dozen editions of Campion's text appeared by 1586; ARCR vol. 1, nos. 135.1–145. Wilhelmus Lindanus, *Pro Vero atque Vivo Christi Iesu Domini Nostri Corpore in Sancta Eucharistia* (Cologne, 1575); and Nicolas Granier, *Spada della Fede, per Diffesa della Chiesa Christiana contra i Nimici della Verità* (Venice, 1563).

63 Johannes Cassianus, *Opus Ioannis Eremitae, qui et Cassianus* (Lyon, 1525); Didymus, the Blind, *Didymi Alexandrini Praeceptoris diui Hieronymi* (Cologne, 1531). Both authors' work, notably, also figure in the original collection of the English Catholic college of St. Alban's founded by Robert Persons under the patronage of Philip II in Valladolid, suggesting a particular eremitic interest within this period of English Catholic missionary identity. For similar work on English Catholic conventual libraries on the continent, see Caroline Bowden, "Building Libraries in Exile: The English Convents and Their Book Collections in the Seventeenth Century," *British Catholic History* (formerly *Recusant History*) 32:3 (2015), pp. 343–82.

64 Likely a recent edition, such as the 1563 Basel imprint whose title specifically cited the "Vtopiae Libri II" (ARCR vol. 2, nos. 824–828).

65 British Library, Lansdowne MS 50/77, fols. 165–68, book inventory at fol. 167. The general circumstances surrounding the Babington Plot have been sufficiently well documented elsewhere and need not be elaborated upon here, though legal action taken against Babington appears to have caused the Crown to entail his possessions (the manuscript source of the list also provides a detailed household inventory of his entire estate). Some of Babington's lands were allowed to pass on to his brothers, Francis and George, while others were granted by the queen to Sir Walter Raleigh, though it remains unclear whether Babington's Catholic books went to his brothers or were, as is more likely, confiscated as evidence against him by the Elizabethan authorities.

the Crown, Babington's literary and intellectual interests were observed by his contemporaries, among them by the leading Jesuit missionary William Weston shortly after the conspirator's execution: "Babington was a gentleman. In property, income, establishments and the rest he had considerable wealth. He was young, not yet thirty, good-looking, with a fine presence, quick intelligence, enchanting manners and wit. Moreover, he was well-read, and had a love of literature uncommon in men of his class." Weston disapproved, however, of Babington's apparent vacillation during his imprisonment, which was confirmed in the Jesuit's eyes when it was discovered that Babington "received and kept by him a number of heretical books, an English [i.e., Protestant] Bible and Calvin's *Institutes*," apparently "tempted partly by flattering promises of the heretics and the hope of obtaining freedom" should he agree publicly to abjure his Catholic faith.⁶⁶

Considering the preponderance of Catholic continental imprints among the books in his inventory, it is not unlikely that Babington acquired a number of these titles during his journey to Paris in 1580, where he had personally met the priest Thomas Morgan (1543–1606) and James Beaton (1517–1603), the outlawed archbishop of Glasgow and Mary Queen of Scots' French Ambassador – encounters that also helped to forge Babington's initial links with Mary.⁶⁷ The additional presence in Babington's library of a large number of contemporary Catholic works printed on secret domestic Catholic presses in England suggests that he, like Sir John Southworth, was also tied to current underground networks for their distribution to the Catholic laity. As has been mentioned, that same reach may well have extended even further, to a surreptitious Catholic book-smuggling operation allegedly run out of the home of the French ambassador as reported by an otherwise mysterious Fagot to Sir Francis Walsingham, including the note that "our butler has arrived with a lot of books which M. Babington will sell for him."⁶⁸

66 See Weston, *Autobiography*, pp. 99, 131.

67 TNA SP 12/157, fol. 193. The Babingtons were specifically described as living in the company of a priest. It is perhaps notable as well that Anthony Babington's name had already been recently associated with those of several other prominent gentry recusants, among them members of the Paulet, Waldegrave, Woodhouse, Cornwallis, and Fitzherbert families, in an "information of the names and places of residence of certain recusants" of ca. 1582 for the counties of Nottingham, Derbyshire, and East Anglia, though it is unclear whether this led to a search of the Babington home at that time.

68 John Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair* (New Haven: Yale University Library, 1991), pp. 33, 210–12. It should be noted that the original Fagot dispatch read "Monsieur Papinton" though such Francophone variations of English proper names were hardly

Whatever the nature of his sources of current Elizabethan Catholic books, the inventory of books in Babington's possession was as impressive as it was diverse, presenting a telling glimpse of the intellectual life of a deeply committed Catholic endowed with an advanced education and a clear commitment to the Old Religion, who maintained an active interest in the Catholic print culture of his own day. As many as seventeen books, or just over one-third of the entire list, consisted of contemporary books of Catholic polemic and devotion in the English vernacular, among them six titles by Robert Persons, two by Richard Bristow, three by Nicholas Sander (including duplicate copies of a single title, possibly suggesting an intention to distribute), and one other work by William Allen.⁶⁹ The other tracts in the collection were certainly timely as well, including John Durie's Latin condemnation of the Anglican apologist Whitaker; another treatise containing incorporated elements of Campion's *Rationes Decem*, of which Babington also owned a separate copy; and Canisius' ubiquitous Tridentine catechism. Earlier continental Tridentine Latin texts appeared as well, including Simon Verepaeus' popular 1564 prayer book, and a rare edition of Jacob of Jüterbogk's fifteenth-century *Lavacrum Conscientiae*, suggesting a further interest in pre-Reformation Catholic piety.⁷⁰

Like Southworth, Babington also possessed a significant collection of apparently contemporary Catholic manuscripts, including hundreds of prophetic hymns ostensibly medieval as well as modern. Few were specifically attributed in the Babington inventory, among them one associated specifically with the fourteenth-century French alchemist and controversial prophet John of Roquetaillade (described in the manuscript as "*de Rupescissa*"), most others left anonymous. While it is impossible to recover the specific prophecies described in the inventory from extant exemplars for lack of greater bibliographical detail, the few descriptions that were recorded struck an ominous tone, in particular a tendency to anticipate the violent overthrow of the queen by Catholic invaders from the north of England. One set was characterized as containing "174 hymns being prophecies beginning thus, The Bull of Westmorland shall bellow and blow, and to be made ruler from Tyne to Trent." Another began, "A serpent shall arise out of the north ungraciously to conquer England," and one other "When the cock in the north hath builded his nest."⁷¹ The presence

uncommon at the time. The supposition lacks positive evidence, however, and is cited here only as a possible connection worthy of further research.

69 ARCR vol. 2, nos. 67–68, 72, 612–613, 616–618, 624, 625, 627, 692–693, 695.

70 ARCR vol. 1, nos. 135.1–171, 334–35.

71 Over 250 Elizabethan exemplars of the popular sixteenth-century literary genre of verse prophecy are recorded in Steven W. May and William A. Ringler, Jr., *Elizabethan Poetry*:

of these dramatic texts in manuscript certainly casts a significantly more deliberative conspiratorial and seditious shadow over the motivations that precipitated the Babington affair and, together with the contents of his personal library of printed books, presents fresh empirical evidence of a far more serious confessional and theological sophistication than has generally been attributed to Babington in the scholarship to date.

Catholic Cosmopolitanism: Lay Catholic Magnates and their Libraries

Apart from these more modest gatherings of illicit Elizabethan Catholic books, and the much more extensive collections of Andrew Perne and Lord William Howard described above, there were at least two other major private, and happily well-documented, Elizabethan Catholic libraries worthy of note. These were amassed over decades of resistance to the crown by two of the most prominent recusant magnates of the Elizabethan period, Sir Thomas Tresham (1543–1605) and John, Lord Lumley, 1st Baron Lumley (1533–1609). Between the two men, they possessed a total of nearly 4,300 books, Tresham some 1,700 and Lumley 2,600. Of Lumley's larger number, there was also preserved approximately 150 early manuscripts, many of them Catholic, in the antiquarian tradition of Hare and Lord Howard, described above. Both these considerable collections were among the largest and most important private libraries in Elizabethan England, notably amassed not by the most powerful Protestant peers of the realm, but rather by leading members of the English Catholic minority.

The survival of their vast inventories of books offers a unique opportunity to explore the place of the Catholic missionary printing movement in the hands of two of its most likely patrons on a scale, and within a breadth and range of subject matter, that the far more modest inventories of Babington, Brome, Southworth, and others simply cannot provide. Much as with the handful of other surviving inventories of Elizabethan Catholic lay book owners examined here, further comparison reveals significant, at times stark, differences of

A Bibliography and First-line Index of English Verse, 1559–1603, 3 vols. (London and New York, 2004), though only "When the Cock of the North" seems to have been well known, dating from earlier in the century. Eleven manuscript examples appear in Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins (eds.), *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943), no. 4029. Thanks are owed here to Professor Steven May for his assistance with these uncommon prophetic compositions. Also discussed in Walsham and Havens, "Catholic Libraries," 154.

emphasis and confessional commitment even between these two men of the highest birth and social station. Tresham and Lumley were deeply conservative in their mutual commitment to the Old Religion, and both fell afoul of the Queen and paid the price: Lumley for his connivance in the Ridolfi Plot and the Duke of Norfolk's scheme to marry Mary Queen of Scots, and Tresham for his obstinacy in accepting ruinous fines and penalties, and long years of imprisonment, for recusancy while simultaneously insisting, in the most articulate of terms, upon his political loyalty to the Queen. Of the two, Lumley's library was the more complex and comprehensive, focusing not only on theology and religion but on nearly every branch of human knowledge, most especially history and singularly in England at the time in terms of comprehensiveness, natural philosophy, geography, and medicine.⁷²

Indeed, Lumley's books were not, in the manner of Perne's, first and foremost a confessional collection. The religious portion of the Lumley library was also colored by its composite nature, beginning with its foundation in much of the residue of the private library of the arch-Protestant archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer. Cranmer had been a fastidious collector of largely theological texts, Catholic as well as Protestant, and was keen on collecting books for application and use, many in large paper copies with ample margins to accommodate manuscript annotations. In most instances these were designated by inscriptions bearing Cranmer's name, representing a library of some five hundred imprints or more.⁷³ Its successive owner, Lumley's father-in-law, Henry Fitzalan, the powerful Earl of Arundel, added a nearly equal

72 It must be noted that Lumley's and Tresham's private libraries were both composite collections not purely of their own making. Lumley's had been formed around the residue of the personal library of Thomas Cranmer, as noted below, and some 70 titles acquired by the Welsh physician and antiquary, Humphrey Lloyd. It is, however, well known that the large majority of acquisitions were made by Lumley himself in concert with his father-in-law and mentor, Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel, who may have been reconciled to the Catholic faith by Lumley himself. Tresham's great library was much augmented by his Catholic son-in-law, Thomas Brudenell.

73 Sears Jayne, *The Lumley Library: The Catalogue of 1609* (London: British Museum, 1956), pp. 2–3. Jayne suggests that Cranmer was no collector of rarities, and that his books were entirely utilitarian, though it is nonetheless the case that he had possessed well over 100 early Catholic manuscripts obtained largely as a result of the dissolution of the monasteries. The collection devolved to Arundel in 1553, likely as a partial reward for his direct role in securing Mary's throne despite the opposition of Northumberland, along with other royal favors. Most of the books inscribed by Cranmer were subsequently inscribed by Lumley. See David Selwyn, *The Library of Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1996).

number of printed books to the collection in addition to a number of valuable manuscripts, though he was not known to be a great reader. It fell to the more scholarly Lumley to build this gathering of books upon firmer personal intellectual and confessional grounds when he removed to Fitzalan's great palace of Nonsuch with his own collection in tow.⁷⁴ Like several of the gentry and aristocratic libraries described above, Lumley's collection was truly cosmopolitan and almost entirely polyglot, such that less than 10 percent of the titles were printed in the English vernacular, the large majority appearing Latin or the learned languages of Greek and Hebrew, in self-conscious manifestation of the humanist ideal, biblical as well as classical.⁷⁵

What is perhaps most striking about Lumley's vast collection, however, is the scarcity of books related specifically to the Elizabethan English Catholic cause, and the far greater number of works associated more generally with the contemporary international literature of Tridentine Catholicism. The preponderance of those works collectively suggests a powerful sense of connection, not so much to the fledgling English missionary printing movement and the leading agents of the English Mission more generally, but rather to the ongoing life of the Roman Catholic Church regardless of the repression of the Elizabethan regime, in a way reflective of Lumley's station as a leading Elizabethan

74 Lumley was indeed intellectually and historically minded, as was witnessed in his translation at age sixteen of Erasmus' *Institution of a Christian Prince*, his subsequent possession of a substantial collection of portraits (including Holbein's portrait of Erasmus), and his avid book collecting. See Edith Milner, *Records of the Lumleys of Lumley Castle* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1904), pp. 88–90, 331; Jayne, *Lumley Library*, pp. 5, 7, 12. Though Arundel's personality appears to have been more that of a warrior-earl of the Henrician era than an intellectual, his collection was nonetheless reported to have played a role in the education of his son and two daughters. After losing most of his family to premature death, Arundel invited Lumley to his home at Nonesuch. Later in the Elizabethan period, Lumley himself made benefactions of duplicates in his library to Cambridge University, over 80 volumes in all in 1598, and in the following year a substantial gift of a further 30 volumes was given by him to Oxford, for which he had served as Lord High Steward since 1559.

75 Many of the latter derived from the Christian humanist collection of Cranmer. It is perhaps of added interest that Lumley seems to have acquired very few books after the accession of James I, at whose court he served in various capacities, making his a truly Tudor-era collection. Portions of the Lumley library passed on to Henry Prince of Wales after Lumley's death in 1609, likely by purchase, at which time a catalogue was made and a full-time librarian appointed, thereby preserving much of it in the Royal Library until its final deposit in the British Library. See Trinity College Cambridge, MS o.4.38, for a contemporary manuscript catalogue of the Lumley library; Jayne, *Lumley Library*, pp. 11, 13–14, 17, 19ff.

Catholic magnate and aristocrat, and one who would have been so perceived among the Catholic potentates of Europe at the time. Correspondingly, the vast majority of contemporary Catholic imprints in Lumley's collection were printed in continental Catholic printing centers, particularly among those bearing accession inscriptions in Lumley's own name. Moreover, not a single work specifically related to the Catholic cause in England in Lumley's library was actually printed in the English vernacular.

What Lumley did possess in relation to the current state of English Catholics was also surprisingly devotional in nature, particularly in the form of Latin editions of Tridentine spiritualists whose works had also been translated into English for the lay Catholic readership during Lumley's lifetime, such as Alonso de Madrid's *Libellus de Methodo Serviendi Deo Latine*; Diego de Estella's tract on the *Contemptus mundi*; a full ten works by the ever-popular Tridentine spiritualist Luis de Granada, including his *Memorial of a Christian Life* in Latin; and various editions of Canisius' Tridentine Jesuit catechism.⁷⁶ Only a miniscule three printed tracts in Lumley's entire library, all in their original Latin forms, were actually authored by contemporary English Catholic apologists: Cardinal Allen's 1576 tract on the sacraments; and two Louvainist polemics, Nicholas Sander's controversial and much reprinted and augmented *De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani*, and Thomas Stapleton's *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium*.⁷⁷ Such a small and rarified showing of contemporary English Catholic books can hardly be accounted a resounding affirmation of Lumley's dedication to the contemporary missionary scene. In this way Lumley, though clearly a committed Catholic, defeats any expectation that many of the other records of Catholic book ownership of the period described above might suggest. He was a contemporary of the Elizabethan Catholic struggle against the forces of Protestant conformity, though by no means an avid collector of its presence in print.

If Lumley was a *rara avis* among his Catholic peers in his peculiar indifference to the English missionary printing movement, Sir Thomas Tresham can hardly be described as its lion. Nowhere is that fact more amply represented than in Tresham's own vast and far more confessionally militant library, gathered by him despite his own embattled status as perhaps the Crown's leading

76 Jayne, *Lumley Library*, pp. 48, 64, 91–93, 102, 106; ARCR vol. 2, nos. 160–61, 439–40, 505, 887–88. Perhaps less surprisingly, Lumley did own multiple Latin editions and defenses of the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent. See Jayne, *Lumley Library*, pp. 58, 60, 86.

77 Jayne, *Lumley Library*, pp. 73, 99, 115; ARCR vol. 1, nos. 6–7, 972–76, 1150–53 (Lumley's edition, apparently printed in Antwerp in 1596, does not appear to be listed in ARCR, vol. 2).

whipping boy with respect to severe punitive sanctions consecutively and, at times mercifully, mustered against obstinate Catholic members of the ruling gentry class. Tresham was clearly and deeply connected to networks of English Catholic book smugglers, a fact made all the more perilous by his vulnerability, unlike Lumley it seems, to repeated searches and seizures of his books. At least two manuscript accounts of pursuivant raids of his various homes are extant, revealing an avid interest in, and close access to, contemporary English Catholic imprints at the height of Catholic persecution, particularly during the crisis years of the 1580s. The first of these involved coordinated searches of several suspected Catholic homes by a Justice of the Peace and High Constable in August 1584 that included Tresham's estate at Hoxton, Middlesex, during an extended period of house arrest there and elsewhere.⁷⁸ Tresham actively resisted complete capitulation to the Crown through his subscription to several petitions, including one in the year immediately preceding the first of these two recorded searches, professing that a subject's devotion to the Catholic faith in no way compromised his loyalty to the English state.⁷⁹ What was discovered

78 TNA SP 12/172, fols. 169–70; *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections* (London: HMSO, 1904), vol. 3, pp. 152–54. PLRE vol. 8, pp. 255–61. Tresham was repeatedly imprisoned and called before crown authorities for religious causes, and paid massive fines for recusancy, some £8000 in all between 1581 and his death in 1605 – a ruinous regime of confiscatory penalties even for an income as great as Tresham's. See Mary Finch, *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), Publications of the Northamptonshire Record Society vol. 19, pp. 76–78, 179–81. Like Lumley, in 1598 and 1599, Tresham made substantial benefactions of books to his university college of St. John's, Oxford, including a significant number of Catholic Scholastic texts by Aquinas, Cajetan, Suarez, and others. The practice of the two universities accepting substantial collections of Catholic imprints from bequests during the Elizabethan period appears not to have been uncommon. See N. Ker, "Oxford College Libraries of the Sixteenth Century," *Bodleian Library Record* 6 (January 1959), pp. 501–3, 505–6, 511–15. The contents of Tresham's larger library appear in British Library, Additional MSS 39830, no. 11 (Tresham Papers, vol. 3, "Catalogue of Sir Thomas Tresham's Printed Books"). See also Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of T.B. Clarke-Thornill, Esq., Sir T. Barrett-Lennard, Bart., Pelham R. Papillon, Esq., and W. Cleverly Alexander, Esq.* (London: HMSO, 1904), "Various Collections" series, vol. 3, pp. v-lxxvii, 1–154, now fully edited by Nicholas Barker and David Quentin (eds.) *The Library of Thomas Tresham & Thomas Brudenell* (London: Roxburghe Club, 2006). See also Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 142–4. The specific contents of Tresham's gift to St. Johns is enumerated by Barker and Quentin in their Appendix 6, pp. 469–82.

79 On the latter point, see esp. S. Kaushik, "Resistance, Loyalty and Recusant Politics: Sir Thomas Tresham and the Elizabethan State," *Midland History* 21 (1996), pp. 37–72.

by crown pursuivants in the first instance were a half-dozen recently printed titles, all but one of them devotional texts in the English vernacular for apparent lay household use. Among them was a copy of the Douai-Rheims New Testament, two apparent copies of the English translation of Luis de Granada's *Of Prayer and Meditation*, Laurence Vaux's pre-Tridentine Catholic catechism, and Robert Persons' *Christian Directory* – all of them printed on the Continent and smuggled into England – in addition to an unspecified Latin Office of the Blessed Virgin.⁸⁰

A second search of Hoxton made sometime, and probably shortly, after the first yielded a more robust list, including duplicates of some of the same titles found in the first recorded search, suggesting either that Tresham was permitted to retain the ones described in the summer of 1584, or that he was able to replace them easily after their initial detection and ostensible confiscation by the authorities.⁸¹ The latter list was also much more representative of the larger library Tresham had gathered for himself, as it contained many more of the continental Catholic imprints that filled peers' collections such as Lumley's library, including a number of devotional and liturgical texts designed for private devotion. In addition to repeated appearances of Persons' *Christian Directory* and Vaux's catechism – two of the most commonplace titles in extant Elizabethan Catholic library inventories – Luis de Granada reappears as well, albeit in alternative versions printed in Italian and Latin. Interestingly, it should also be observed that these same vernacular English Catholic devotional books did not appear in the final inventory of Tresham's complete library, which listed only the 1584 Protestantized version of Persons' *Christian Directory* by Edmund Bunny, suggesting further that the copy described in the second search of Hoxton was likely confiscated, much as their other copy of the same title identified in the first search at Hoxton, found there shortly after it was first printed.

Other practical religious works were found in these raids, including English and Latin primers, an edition of liturgical hymns and collects, and English-language tracts on the rosary, possibly among them Margaret Roper's English translation of Erasmus' *A Deuoute Treatise vpon the Pater Noster*, in addition to Stapleton's English translation of Bede's early medieval ecclesiastical history of England.⁸² The legendary erudition of Tresham and members of his household

80 ARCR vol. 2, nos. 173, 443, 616–17, 748–752.

81 British Library, Additional MS 39830, fol. 212. This second Tresham Catholic book inventory does not appear in PLRE 8.

82 There were at least a half-dozen Elizabethan English Catholic tracts printed in the vernacular on the rosary: ARCR vol. 2, nos., 95, 319, 443, 546, 848, 924. The Erasmus is likely STC 10466–10477.5. See E. McCutcheon, "The Learned Woman in Tudor England: Margaret

is further suggested by the presence of a New Testament in Greek and less familiar foreign-language treatises of the middle of the century such as Lorenzo Davidico's *Gioiello del Vero Cristiano*, dedicated to the Marian Cardinal, Reginald Pole, and a manuscript, possibly an English translation, of Cyprian's patristic treatise on the proper dress of consecrated virgins.⁸³ Of the remaining texts listed by the officers in the second Hoxton search, the only potentially controversial works were a Latin edition of a tract by the former English Catholic bishop Cuthbert Tunstall on transubstantiation, *De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Domini Nostri*, and two unspecified Latin manuscripts both apparently connected to Mary Queen of Scots. Furthermore, it appears that this second search of Hoxton was only partially successful, as was indicated by the inclusion in this official inventory of the popular and much reprinted work of Gallican piety, *Le Livre de Vraye et Parfaicte Oraison* (1529). It is known that this book was actually acquired earlier by Tresham in December 1582 for one shilling along with several other continental titles, including two works by Savanarola, and Augustine's *Confessions* in Spanish and Italian. These purchases were followed twelve days later by a surviving invoice from "Harsey the binder" specifically to cover the cost of binding Canisius' catechism and Stanislaus Hosius' collected works, none of which were detected by the Elizabethan authorities in either of the two known searches of Tresham's home (assuming that the books were housed at Hoxton and not elsewhere after their purchase).⁸⁴

More Roper," in ed. K.M. Wilson, *Women Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987), pp. 449–80. The Bede translation is ARCR vol. 2, no. 733.

- 83 On several of these texts, see Thomas F. Mayer, "When Maecenas Was Broke: Cardinal Pole's 'Spiritual' Patronage," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27:2 (Summer 1996), pp. 419–35; F.M. Higman, "Luther et la Piété de l'Eglise Gallicane: *Le Livre de Vraye et Parfaicte Oraison*," *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 63 (1983), pp. 91–111; Cyprian, "Treatise II. On the Dress of Virgins," trans. Ernest Wallis, ed. Alexander Roberts et al., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume 5: Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978), possibly related to the later published translation, *The Discipline and Habit of Virgins: Written in Latin by the Holy Martyr St. Cyprian, Arch-bishop of Carthage Translated into English* (London, 1697), Wing C7712D. Citing the close parallels between the early centuries of Christian persecution and the persecution of Elizabethan Catholics, Philip Caraman noted that "it is Cyprian's name that occurs more than any other in the writings" of the leading priests of the Jesuit Mission – Robert Southwell, Cardinal William Allen, and Robert Persons – "and it was the spirit of St. Cyprian, and his devotion to the see of Rome, that principally inspired them." See Caraman, *Henry Garnet (1555–1606) and the Gunpowder Plot* (London: Longmans, 1964), p. 114.
- 84 British Library, Additional MSS 39830, fol. 154; Barker and Quentin, *Library of Thomas Tresham*, Appendix 1, p. 459. The Hosius volume appears to have gone to St. John's College as part of Tresham's gift of books, along with a number of patristic texts, the collected works

The extant manuscript inventory of the Tresham/Brudenell library – Thomas Brudenell, Tresham's Catholic son-in-law, went on to possess and augment the collection – demonstrates that both these Catholic collectors embraced far broader confessional interests than the two cursory inventories from the raids of Hoxton might seem to indicate. Even more than Lumley's, Tresham's gathering of books was profoundly Catholic, continental, and Tridentine in nature, looking far beyond the Channel and the missionary printing efforts of Englishmen at home and in the Spanish Netherlands and France, to Rome and the more distant Catholic principalities of Europe. The former Jesuit "Chair of Controversies" at the Roman College, Robert Bellarmine, for example, was represented in no fewer than fourteen separate titles, including various late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century installments of his influential *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei*.⁸⁵ A further dozen copies of the controversial Catholic works of Bishop Osório, that aforementioned mainstay of so many Elizabethan libraries, appear as well, every one of them exclusively in the Latin.⁸⁶

The standard dogmatic furniture of a contemporary Catholic library was present as well, including two copies each of the Tridentine catechism and the *Canones et Decreta* of the Council of Trent; three versions of Canisius' Jesuit catechism; at least one early printed book of hours inscribed by Brudenell as his own printed by Pynson, circa 1510; no fewer than five breviaries, two of them in reformed Tridentine versions decreed by Pope Pius v; an early Parisian missal; and a Tridentine Ritual authorized by Pope Paul v and printed in Antwerp at the Plantin press.⁸⁷ Further testament to an admiration of the massive popularity of the Tridentine Dominican Spanish spiritualist Luis de Granada is reflected in multiple copies of his devotional tracts in Tresham's library, some 23 titles in all, making him the most well-represented contemporary Catholic author that Tresham owned, appearing in Spanish, Italian, and French editions, in addition to the Latin.⁸⁸ Lesser, earlier Catholic pietists, such as Joannes Justus Lanspergius, were also represented, including his titular "quiver of divine love" – an author who inspired the leading recusant, Philip Howard, the Earl of Arundel and brother to the Catholic book collector Lord William Howard, to

of Thomas More, a tract by Bishop Fisher, and another by the Tridentine Spanish mystic who was also popular among Elizabethan Catholics, Diego de Estella. Baker and Quentin, *Library of Thomas Tresham*, nos. 41, 49, 60; also 119–26.

85 Baker and Quentin, *Library of Thomas Tresham*, nos. 197–210.

86 Baker and Quentin, *Library of Thomas Tresham*, nos. 1315–26.

87 Baker and Quentin, *Library of Thomas Tresham*, nos. 426, 534–36, 949, 1120–26.

88 Baker and Quentin, *Library of Thomas Tresham*, nos. 832–54.

render an English translation of Lanspergius' work, which was much reprinted for the domestic Catholic lay readership in the English vernacular.⁸⁹

These spiritual texts were leavened by the presence of a comparatively miniscule gathering of only ten polemical and devotional tracts authored by leading Elizabethan apologists of the English Catholic cause, in addition to four other titles by the Henrician protomartyr Thomas More.⁹⁰ Two of Robert Persons' works appeared in the final Tresham inventory, as did an earlier work of John Rastell's, and two each by Thomas Stapleton, Richard Stanyhurst, and Richard Bristow.⁹¹ While it is telling that all of these, except Rastell's and Bristow's tracts, were present in Tresham's library in the English vernacular, in addition to two early Jacobean apologies by Thomas Fitzherbert printed at Douai, this stark contrast to Lumley's polyglot gathering of the same class of material still cannot rise to the level of a high point, or even a minor strength, among Tresham's books.⁹² Though he was hardly as indifferent as Lumley appears to have been toward the contemporary English missionary printing movement,

89 Baker and Quentin, *Library of Thomas Tresham*, nos. 1071–72. There were three separate editions of Arundel's translation of Lanspergius, two of them printed secretly in England shortly before Arundel's death in the Tower: the first ca. 1592–94 on Father Garnet's press, the second by James Duckett in 1595 (possibly to memorialize the Earl's death that year), and the third at the English College of St. Omer in 1610. ARCR vol. 2, nos. 456–58.

90 Baker and Quentin, *Library of Thomas Tresham*, nos. 1254–57, among them an early edition of his *Dyaloge* defending the veneration of images, sacred relics, saints, and pilgrimages. Elizabethan Catholics would reprint More's *Dialogue of Cumfort* in 1573 with the added marginal commentary of the leading Elizabethan continental English publisher, John Fowler, whose wife was connected directly to More as the daughter of his secretary, John Harris, ARCR vol. 2, no. 553. More than half a dozen of More's Latin works were reprinted on the Continent during the 1560s, also including Tresham's and Brudenell's 1563 copy of his *Lucubrationes*. ARCR vol. 1, nos. 824–830.

91 Baker and Quentin, *Library of Thomas Tresham*, nos. 339, 1355–56, 1486, 1676–67, 1680–81. There were half as many copies of Elizabethan Protestant polemics directed against Catholics in the Tresham library, among them an attack by Fulke on Stapleton and four editions of Whitaker's assaults on Nicholas Sander, William Rainolds (also Reynolds, 1544–1594), and others. Hostile texts such as these do sometimes appear in Catholic libraries, ostensibly as essential source texts for the owners' Catholic attacks and counter-attacks against the Church of England in print. It is also probable that more Protestant polemics and apologies were present in extant Elizabethan Catholic book inventories, as they would not necessarily have been included in those booklists because of their non-heretical status. Baker and Quentin, *Library of Thomas Tresham*, nos. 767, 1862–65.

92 Baker and Quentin, *Library of Thomas Tresham*, nos. 724–25; ARCR vol. 2, nos. 280–282. Nicholas Harpsfield's Catholic history of the Church of England was also a part of the collection, added by Brudenell in the 1622 Douai edition.

the extant archival record strongly suggests that the ever-vulnerable Tresham appears studiously to have avoided nearly every major controversial and polemical English Catholic publication produced during the Elizabethan period, unless, of course, such works were simply hidden away or otherwise simply excluded from the larger portion of his full library for political reasons.⁹³

Despite this conspicuous avoidance of the most inflammatory English Catholic works of his lifetime, details of the larger contents of one of the greatest Catholic libraries of the Elizabethan period reveal Sir Thomas Tresham to have been a stalwart and intellectually committed recusant Catholic, but one who also seems very much to have thought of his collection as fitting squarely within the context of a community of his coreligionists. Perhaps to that same end Tresham donated without incident some 124 titles in 203 volumes to one of the most religiously conservative bastions of Oxbridge Catholic sympathy, St. John's College, between 1598 and the year of Elizabeth's death in 1603, a collection largely of scholastic and medieval Catholic works. Tresham also had many of his books inscribed with the motto "*Tresami et amicorum*" (Tresham and his friends), in the manner of the famous stamped bindings of the earlier sixteenth-century French humanist and book collector, Jean Grolier, who is known to have envisioned his own collection as the mutual possession of its owner and of his circle of like-minded friends and colleagues. Tresham is also known to have routinely ordered various copies of books to be finely bound, among them many that he likely intended for presentation to his coreligionists.⁹⁴

That same communitarian focus is remarkably well reflected in the broader ecumenical Catholic complexion of Tresham's book collection. His was very much a contemporary literature overwhelmingly comprised of books printed in his own lifetime, far more than the sorts of particular antiquarian rarities that occasionally attracted Lords Howard and Lumley, and the intellectual Richard Hare. Tresham's books, in this way, appear to have constituted a real and present, if not also a physical and palpable, source of direct connection to the heart of the revitalized Tridentine Roman Catholic Church, not unlike Andrew Perne's academic collection, except that Tresham's was almost completely devoid of any cross-confessional Protestant works at all.⁹⁵ In the

93 The final Tresham book inventory was, after all, discovered buried under a wall in the nineteenth century, suggesting an interest at some point after his death in keeping these records from the eyes of the authorities.

94 Baker and Quentin, *Library of Thomas Tresham*, 46.

95 There were, for example, no works attributed to Martin Luther in the entire library, except in treatises hostile to religious sectarianism and discord. See, for example, Baker and Quentin, *Library of Thomas Tresham*, no. 1152.

catalogue of the Tresham/Brudenell library it is significant that the largest single section, much as is found in so many other contemporary book collections of the period, was far and away that of international Catholic "Theologi." That which came from the English initiative to restore the Church in England figured only in a minor way, almost as a second cousin to other avenues of thought and achievement that were in no way narrowly bound by immediate, temporal struggles by Elizabethan Catholics with the Elizabethan Protestant regime.

Each of these telling, if also rare, insights into the highly variable interests and differing degrees of access, among Elizabethan Catholics to the contemporary literature of their faith compel the historian to place Protestant triumphalism aside and to modify prevailing, if also overly monochromatic and underexamined, narratives of generalized intellectual and spiritual Catholic decline during the Elizabethan period. Each of these "saving remnants" of contemporary book ownership clearly represent diverse and sometimes dynamic lives of the mind within the English Catholic community, whether they were in close relationship and sympathy with the English missionary printing movement, or with more nostalgic associations with the distant pre-Reformation Catholic past; whether they reflected a popular demand for works of practical devotion and religious education, or rather participated more directly with the energies of the prophetic imagination in a scribally based context, as in Anthony Babington's case; or, far more broadly, whether they were deeply concerned with the massive output in print, throughout the later sixteenth century, of the continental Roman Catholic Church as an international, indeed global, and vitally reformed ecclesiastic institution, one to which they felt themselves spiritually – and through the production of books materially – to be connected.

While none of the historical actors examined in this analysis ever secured their much-hoped-for return to the Old Religion in England, or, for that matter, a large-scale introduction into the British Isles of a revitalized Tridentine Catholicism, their books, in all of their diversity and partially recovered contexts, clearly played a tangible and substantive role in the lives of Catholics across the kingdom. In some cases they existed in vast and conspicuous quantities; in others, in the form of merely a few scattered volumes that might nonetheless shed new light upon the shadowy underground in which these subversive texts were produced, circulated, and avidly consumed throughout the full course of Elizabeth's reign. For one community that was no longer supposed to exist, let alone endure, the Elizabethan Catholic community has bequeathed to

posterity an intellectual patrimony in its printed literature, and library culture, whose clear communication of confessional commitment and missionary aspiration cannot be dismissed as cut off from a larger participation in the global Roman Catholic Church, nor as retrograde and seemingly locked into a state of inevitable, gradual decline.

Richard Verstegan as a Publicist of the Counter-Reformation: Religion, Identity and Clandestine Literature

Marcin Polkowski

The activities of polemical author, poet and publisher Richard Verstegan (ca. 1548/50–1640) were crucial to the existence of an underground literary network connecting England with the Habsburg Netherlands and other Catholic countries of Europe at the turn of the sixteenth century. Richard Verstegan (also known as (Lat.) Versteganus or (in Dutch) Verstegen) was endowed with a rich personality and, in a way, he embodied many of the characteristics of the renaissance *uomo universale* – the versatile man of letters who led an active life committed to public affairs. On the other hand, in all its vicissitudes, the course of Richard Verstegan's life mirrored the instability that the inhabitants of northern Europe (both Catholic and Protestant) experienced during the 'Age of Crisis,' as some historians have called the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century.¹

Today, the figure of Richard Verstegan would have been almost entirely forgotten, were it not for the efforts of a handful of dedicated scholars, and fortunately, there is now a small but important resurgence of interest in Verstegan's activities as a writer and publisher. New research by Paul Arblaster, Anne Dillon, Romana Zacchi, Massimiliano Morini and others, has recently supplemented earlier, but still highly useful publications.² Even so, much still remains

- 1 The concept of the 17th century as an 'Age of Crisis' has been critically analysed by Maria Bogucka, 'Wiek XVII – wiek kryzysu. Polska na tle europejskim' in eadem, *Człowiek i świat. Studia z dziejów kultury i mentalności XV–XVIII w.* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Semper, 2008), pp. 315–318. Cf. also e.g. Geoffrey Parker, L.M. Smith (eds.), *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978). A similar concept is reflected in the title of the most recent volume of studies on Richard Verstegan's publishing and literary activities by Romana Zacchi and Massimiliano Morini (eds.), *Richard Rowlands Verstegan: A Versatile Man in an Age of Turmoil* (Leuven: Brepols, 2012).
- 2 The earliest research into the *oeuvre* of Richard Verstegan has been the work of scholars from Belgium and the Netherlands, esp. E. Rombouts, *Richard Verstegen, een polemist der Contra-Reformatie* (Brussels: Algemene Drukinrichting, 1933) and W.J.C. Buitendijk, *Het calvinisme in de spiegel van de Zuidnederlandse literatuur der Contra-Reformatie* (Groningen – Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1942). Still relevant is the research by A.G. Petti, *A study of the Life and Writings*

to be done. Future researchers will probably concentrate on the issue of identity, the mechanisms of transferring religious knowledge through underground channels of communication, and the expression of religious culture in Richard Verstegan's poetry and prose texts.

The aim of this paper will be to investigate the work of Richard Verstegan in the context of the system of clandestine literary communication which throughout his life he helped to develop and maintain. We will explore Verstegan's publications looking for his reflections on the values that motivated him to become a publisher and distributor of clandestine literature. An important question that we will try to answer is, how did Verstegan's writings reflect his awareness of the mechanisms of clandestine publishing? "Our poet's biography is almost his bibliography," wrote Louise Imogen Guiney in her concise outline of Verstegan's life.³ The starting point of this paper too will be a bibliographic 'portrait' of Verstegan's publishing output.⁴ It will be presented against the background of his biography, and situated in the historical and cultural setting of his times. Next, the focus will be placed on what Verstegan's texts have to say on the subject of the *modus operandi* of the producers and distributors of clandestine literature and about the measures that were used during the early-modern period to prevent the dissemination of such literature. The present enquiry into Richard Verstegan's underground literary activities will also deal with the problem of disinformation or mystification in polemical literature (esp. in the genre of 'epistolary propaganda') and its use as a persuasive strategy. Finally, 'A Resemblance of Martyrs,' one of the poems from Verstegan's

of Richard Verstegan (unpublished M.A. thesis, London University, 1957); idem, 'Richard Verstegan and Catholic Martyrologies of the Later Elizabethan Period,' *Recusant History* 5 (1959), pp. 64–90. An indispensable recent monographic publication on the life and work of Richard Verstegan is by Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of the Catholic Reformation* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004). Verstegan's martyrologies are one of the subjects of Anne Dillon's *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002), pp. 243–276. A recently-published volume of scholarly articles is by Zacchi and Morini (eds.), *Richard Rowlands Verstegan*, op. cit.

3 Louise Imogen Guiney, *Recusant Poets, with a selection from their work* (London – New York: Sheed and Ward, 1939), I. p. 604.

4 The biographic material for this study has been collected from catalogues and databanks, including the British Library, the National Library of the Netherlands, the Short Title Catalogues of the Netherlands (STCN) and Flanders (STCV), Early English Books Online, Early European Books (EEB), the Heritage of the Printed Book databank (HPB). It is limited to Verstegan's publications in English, but a bibliography of Verstegan's most important works in the Dutch language is provided in footnote 76 below.

Odes (1601), will be analyzed in close-up as a text that provides an important insight into the values that might have inspired Verstegan to persevere, despite his various misadventures, as a publisher and distributor of Catholic underground literature.

Underground / Clandestine Literature: In Search of a Definition

The concept of 'clandestine literature' (which is frequently designated, synonymously, as 'underground literature') is one of the key theoretical notions that may be applied to Verstegan's publishing output, so at this stage it will be useful to formulate a working definition of this term. The *Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms* (PDLT), in its definition of 'underground literature,' states that: "the adjective 'underground' suggests something illegal, subversive and clandestine," which, unfortunately, does not seem to be very precise.⁵ What makes this definition unique, however, is the fact that the PDLT is one of only a few important lexicons of literary terminology in English where one may find an entry for 'underground literature' (or 'clandestine literature').⁶ This situation seems to indicate that the concept of 'clandestine literature' occupies a fairly marginal place in Anglo-American critical discourse. The status of the same concept in the critical discourses and in the literatures of various Central- and Eastern European countries appears to be entirely different. There, the phenomenon of 'clandestine literature' has been treated by scholars, at least recently, with far greater attention. A possible explanation lies in the fact that in the course of history the countries and societies of Central and Eastern Europe have accumulated a significant corpus of 'clandestine literature,' whose origins go back to the nineteenth and twentieth century, the periods when these countries were ruled or occupied by various authoritarian, and later Nazi and/or Communist regimes.⁷

5 'Underground literature/poetry,' J.A. Cuddon (ed.), revised by C.E. Preston, *Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory* (London: Penguin Books, 1999⁴), p. 954.

6 No entries for 'clandestine literature' or 'underground literature' are found in important reference works such as, e.g., the *Columbia Dictionary of Modern Literary and Cultural Criticism*, ed. by Joseph Childers, Gary Hentzi (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) or the *Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, ed. by Chris Baldick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

7 The standard Polish lexicon of literary terms by Michał Głowiński etc. (eds.), *Słownik terminów literackich*, (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2002⁴) confirms that these terms are relevant to Polish critical discourse. The topic of clandestine literature is treated in *Słownik terminów literackich* in two entries: 'Drugi obieg' ('Second circulation,' a term

When referring to 'clandestine' or 'underground literature,' it is almost impossible not to situate this notion in a particular historical context. Sometimes it turns out, however, that if one is too specific about the historical reality, this may restrict the usefulness of a definition. Dutch literary historian Jeroen Dewulf, for example, writing about Dutch 'clandestine literature' during the Second World War, gave the following definition: "Clandestine literature' is a general term for all literature that was published without permission from the German authorities during the occupation in the Second World War."⁸ Further on in the same article Dewulf interchangeably used such designations as 'illegal literature,' 'the underground press' along with 'clandestine literature.' The clandestine *production* of literature, however, which was mentioned by Dewulf in his definition, forms only part of the problem. Trying to define 'clandestine literature,' one must additionally be able to account for the literature that has been produced legally in one country but which has been prohibited from circulating (and so, reaching readers by legal channels) in other countries. To give one example: the Bible and/or other Christian religious literature may be freely printed in Western countries, but the ownership of and/or trafficking in such literature was prohibited in the Soviet Union until its dissolution in 1991, and it may be still be subject to certain legal restrictions today in some Middle-Eastern countries.⁹

For the purpose of the present article, therefore, 'clandestine literature' will be defined as any kind of literature which has been published without permission from the authorities of a given geographic or political area, and/or which

referring specifically to clandestine publishing under Communism in Poland, 1944–1990), pp. 111–112, and 'Podziemna literatura' (i.e. 'Underground literature'), p. 395.

8 Jeroen Dewulf, 'Literature as Resistance. Dutch Clandestine Literature (1940–1945),' *The Low Countries. Art and Society in Flanders and the Netherlands* 20 (2012), p. 84.

9 An account of the situation in the Soviet Union is provided, e.g., in Stanisław Dziedzic, Małgorzata Dziedzic, *Father Serafin Kaszuba*, transl. by Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa and her students (Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza Proszówki, 2013), p. 48: "An additional tribulation was the lack of the desperately needed religious books, especially the Scriptures, but also Mass books and devotionalia which his confreres sent him [i.e. father Kaszuba] in various *clandestine* ways and which would be *confiscated by Soviet security men if intercepted*" (emphasis – M.P.). Cf. also an episode in Victor Suvorov's *Aquarium*, where a Soviet intelligence officer is arrested and subjected to harsh interrogation because he had failed to report to his superiors that a copy of the Bible had been dropped into his mailbox. For restrictions on the circulation of Christian religious literature in the Middle East, cf. e.g. Grzegorz Korczyński, 'Biznes ważniejszy od praw człowieka,' *Nasz Dziennik* 22 April 2014. <<http://www.naszdziennik.pl/swiat/73132,biznes-wazniejszy-od-praw-czlowieka.html?d=1>> (accessed on 15 February 2015).

has been prohibited from circulating freely in that area.¹⁰ If one applies this definition to Richard Verstegan's publishing work, then it becomes clear that the category of 'clandestine literature' encompasses, besides the books that Verstegan printed illegally in Elizabethan England, also many of his publications produced in the Low Countries, even though the latter were printed with the formal approval of the Habsburg rulers of the Southern Netherlands. It was legal to read this type of literature in the Habsburg dominions, but such books became illegal (or 'clandestine') as soon as they had crossed the English Channel or entered the Dutch Republic, where their circulation was strictly prohibited.¹¹

'The workmanship of a stranger': Richard Verstegan's Activities as a Clandestine Publisher in Elizabethan London

With the help of a reference to Richard Verstegan's biography, below, we will first briefly situate his first activities as an author and publisher in England in their social and cultural context.¹² Richard Verstegan was born between 1548 and 1550 in London as Richard Rowlands, the son of John Rowlands, a cooper. His paternal grandfather, Theodore Roland (Roelands) Verstegen, had been an émigré, who came to England around 1510 from the Duchy of Guelders (Dutch: Gelre) in the Low Countries.¹³ As a child Verstegan grew up during

10 This definition is partly based on 'Podziemna literatura,' in Michał Głowiński etc. (eds.), *Słownik terminów literackich*, p. 395.

11 In England, producing and distributing Roman Catholic religious literature was illegal under the provisions of the Penal Statute of 1563: "[...] if any person within the Queen's dominions shall by writing, ciphering, printing, preaching or teaching, deed or act, set forth or maintain the authority, jurisdiction or power of the bishop of Rome, heretofore claimed, used or usurped within this realm, or shall by any speech, deed or act, attribute any such jurisdiction to the see of Rome within this realm, every such person or persons, and their abettors, procurers and counsellors, and also their aiders, assistants and comforters, shall incur the penalties of *praemunire*. This was to be the punishment of the first offence; but a repetition of it drew down upon the offender forfeiture and death as in cases of high treason." Thomas Francis Knox, *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douai, and an Appendix of Unpublished Documents, edited by the Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory, with an Historical Introduction* (London: David Nutt, 1878), p. xx.

12 This information about Verstegan's biography is chiefly based on Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 4 and following.

13 The political conflict in Guelders during the late 15th century, which was the probable reason for T. Roelantsz Verstegen's emigration, is well known to Dutch readers because it formed the setting for the plot of *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, an important Middle Dutch

the short-lived Catholic Restoration under Mary Tudor. It is believed that he was brought up to be a Protestant, but converted to Catholicism during early adulthood.¹⁴

There has been some discussion among scholars about Richard Verstegan's social background. According to Paul Arblaster, Verstegan's father was an influential member of the urban patriciate rather than an unskilled craftsman.¹⁵ This may explain why Verstegan was able to enroll at the University of Oxford, where he matriculated in 1564. He attended Christ Church, which was predominantly Protestant. If Verstegan converted to Roman Catholicism at Oxford, he might have followed the example of other student-converts.¹⁶

When the religious settlement under Elizabeth proved unacceptable to Catholics in the late 1550s, religious opinion in England became more radical and polarized.¹⁷ Many Roman Catholics became more confident that they should oppose the Elizabethan regime. In response the government enacted a series of increasingly stringent measures prohibiting Catholic religious practice. Not wanting to take the Oath of Supremacy, in 1569 Richard Verstegan left Oxford without formally graduating. There can be no doubt that by rejecting religious conformity he followed his conscience, even though a different decision would have rewarded him with material security.¹⁸ This choice demonstrated that moral and religious values had become more important for him than social status or prestige. When his position in society changed, Verstegan adapted to his new circumstances by learning a trade. He became a goldsmith, and the skills he learned in his new profession, such as the art of draftsmanship, served him well throughout his life, enabling him eventually to produce the etchings, which he used as illustrations in his work.¹⁹

prose narrative, which was also translated into English: *A ltytel story of a mayde that was named Mary of Nemmegen* (Antwerp: Jan van Duesborch, 1520). See e.g. Elizabeth M. Nugent, 'Mary of Nemmegen,' in Elizabeth M. Nugent (ed.), *The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance, An Anthology of Tudor Prose 1481–1555* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1969), 11. pp. 652–661.

14 According to Paul Arblaster, this defining moment in Verstegan's life came when "...travel or study shook his unthinking acceptance of Anglican claims" (*Antwerp and the World*, p. 5).

15 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 11.

16 The attractiveness of Catholicism to Verstegan's peers has been suggested by Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 7. Prominent Roman Catholics (or eventual converts) studying at Oxford at the same time as Verstegan included the later head of the Jesuit English Mission, Robert Persons, and Edmund Campion.

17 See Knox, *The First and Second Diaries*, p. xv.

18 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 11.

19 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, pp. 11–12.

As a goldsmith Verstegan found employment in the city of London. Many of the merchants who were his clients mirrored the type of the *mercator sapiens*, the well-bred cosmopolitan entrepreneur of the renaissance whose worldview had been shaped by the culture of humanism.²⁰ Possibly on the lookout for a publication that might attract readers from among this group, Verstegan published his first book, the *Post of the World*.²¹ It was a utilitarian booklet, a vernacular itinerary with tables of distances for travelers to the Continent. It also provided concise information about most major European cities (including Kraków in Poland).²² Besides, the contents of this book included a calendar with saints' days. Such information, which as Verstegan's biographer Paul Arblaster suggests, was probably overlooked by Elizabethan censors, would have been useful not only to merchants travelling across Europe but also to the recusant community in England.²³

In the late 1570s, the Elizabethan government enforced strict legal sanctions aimed at England's remaining Catholic population.²⁴ In early 1578, Verstegan was briefly subjected to imprisonment during a spate of reprisals targeting various Catholic printers in London and their helpers as well as Catholic sympathizers.²⁵ The 'Seminary Priests,' who were arriving in England then, were apprehended, tortured and executed for treason. Edmund Campion (1540–1581) was executed, along with several others, in 1581. The priest Thomas Alfield (1552–1585) put together an account of his execution and had it delivered "...to

20 The ideal of the learned merchant (*mercator sapiens*) was explicitly formulated by Dutch humanist Caspar Barlaeus in 1632. See Caspar Barlaeus, *Mercator Sapiens. Oratie gehouden by de inwijding van de Illustere School te Amsterdam op 9 januari 1632*, transl. by Sape van der Woude (Amsterdam: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1967).

21 [Richard Verstegan], *The post of the world Wherein is contayned the antiquities and originall of the most famous cities in Europe. With their trade and traficke. With their wayes and distance of myles, from country to country. With the true and perfect knowledge of their coynes, the places of their mynts: with al their martres and fayres. And the raignes of all the kinges of England. A booke right necessary and profitable, for all sortes of persons, the like before this tyme not imprinted* (London: Thomas East, 1576). The original spelling has been retained in the transcription of titles and passages quoted from Verstegan's works.

22 "Crackaw, is the head citie in the kingdome of Polonia, and lyeth on the Riuer Wizell, a riche citie of grat marchaundise, it was founded by one Craco, the firste Duke of that prouince. Ther is at this Day a great Schole, or Vniuersitie chiefly enclynde vnto the studie of Astronomie." Verstegan, *The Post of the World*, p. 16. This university was the Academy of Kraków, the predecessor of today's Jagiellonian University.

23 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 13.

24 See e.g. Kenneth O. Morgan (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 275–276.

25 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 18.

Rowlande the prynter in Smythefield,”²⁶ i.e. to Richard Rowlands (Verstegan). The title of the printed account was: *A true reporte of the death & martyrdome of M. Campion Iesuite and preiste, & M. Sherwin, & M. Bryan preistes, at Tiborne the first of December 1581 Observed and written by a Catholike preist, which was present therat Wheruuto [sic] is annexid certayne verses made by sundrie persons* [London: R. Rowlands or Verstegan, 1582].

A True Reporte provides us with important information about the Catholic identity of its authors and producers, including, of course, the printer, Richard Verstegan, and about their values and motivations. Verstegan, although otherwise highly educated, was new to the printing profession, so in the book's colophon he offered the following excuse for a lack of skill: “Good reader, pardon all faultes escaped in the printing and beare with the woorkmanship of a strainger.”²⁷ It was a typical renaissance formula of modesty, a *captatio benevolentiae*, but behind this conventional expression one may hear the voice of someone who, finding himself on the lowest rungs of the professional ladder in an unfamiliar profession, was keenly aware of the responsibility (and the very high risk) connected to the task of printing a clandestine book.

The author of the preface to *A true reporte* described the martyred priests as exemplary Christians who faced death with great dignity and composure. Replying indirectly to the accusation of treason, which had been formulated by the prosecution, the publication emphasized the values of English patriotism and loyalty to the sovereign. In the words of the booklet's authors, the condemned priests were:

resolute martirs, constantly professing their faith & belief, resolutely disclaiming from all treasons and and treacheryes falslie intendid againtse them: and loyaly behaving themselues towards our queene & country. Who as they were in their lives lanterns of piety & vertue, so in their deathes made themselves paternes and examples for all good christian subiectes to follow.²⁸

Stephen Vallenger, the author of the poems included in the booklet, called the martyred priests, in moving words: “that noble traine, / That fight with word

26 Cited after: Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 20.

27 [Thomas Alfield etc.], *A true reporte of the death & martyrdome of M. Campion Iesuite and preiste, & M. Sherwin, & M. Bryan preistes, at Tiborne the first of December 1581 Observed and written by a Catholike preist, which was present therat Wheruuto [sic] is annexid certayne verses made by sundrie persons* [London: R. Rowlands, 1582], fol. [36r].

28 [Alfield etc.], *A true reporte*, fol. [2v].

[and] not with sword, / And Christ [is] their capitaine".²⁹ The makers of *A true reporte* explicitly limited their resistance to Elizabeth's religious policies to the sphere of religious and moral arguments. This failed to convince the English authorities, however, who relentlessly prosecuted all those involved in writing and distributing this publication.³⁰ It must have become clear to Verstegan at this stage that he faced severe punishment (including the death sentence), if he were to be prosecuted for a second offence, so he decided to secretly leave England.

Richard Verstegan's Activities in France, Italy and in the Low Countries

After leaving England, Richard Verstegan arrived in Rouen (northern France). It was a town that attracted many exiled English Catholics, including English Jesuits led by Robert Persons SJ, who headed the English Mission,³¹ and who employed Verstegan in the capacity of a "propagandist and printing agent."³² Verstegan's first publications were a series of martyrologies, including *Praesentis Ecclesiae Anglicanae Typus*, a Latin account of the persecution of Catholic priests and their lay protectors in England. This publication reveals interesting literary links with Poland. According to Grażyna Jurkowlaniec, it was modeled on the *Typus Ecclesiae Catholicae*, a type of allegorical representation combining textual and iconographic elements, which had been developed, among others, by Polish Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius (1504–1579).³³ The Cardinal, one may add, had close ties to the Southern Netherlands, where Verstegan settled only a few years later.³⁴ Verstegan's martyrological publications were designed, as Paul Arblaster pointed out, to achieve two objectives. Its devotional aim was to foster piety focused on the exemplary faith of the martyrs, and in the political sphere it was intended to suggest that the Elizabethan regime was an anti-Christian tyranny.³⁵

29 [Alfield etc.], *A true reporte*, fol. [35v].

30 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 20.

31 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 34.

32 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 26.

33 Grażyna Jurkowlaniec, 'Typus Ecclesiae Catholicae – trydencka wizja Kościoła, jej geneza i recepcja,' in K. Kuczman, A. Witko (eds.), *Sztuka po Trydencie* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo AA, 2014), pp. 36–37.

34 Andrzej Borowski, *Iter Polono-Belgo-Ollandicum. Cultural and Literary Relationships between the Commonwealth of Poland and the Netherlands in the 16th and 17th centuries* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2007), p. 70.

35 See Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 26.

Moving from Rouen to Paris, Verstegan published Gregory Martin's *Treatise of Christian Peregrination* (1583), and almost simultaneously, the *Descriptiones quaedam illius inhumanae et multiplicis persecutionis, quam in Anglia propter fidem sustinent Catholice Christiani* [A Description of the Cruelties that Catholics in England Suffer for the Faith]. The latter publication, translated into the French as *Breifve description des cruautés que les Catholiques endurent en Angleterre pour le foy* (Paris 1583/1584) brought Verstegan into fresh trouble. The English ambassador to the French court, Sir Edward Stafford (1552–1605), employed all of his contacts to prevent it from appearing.³⁶ Richard Verstegan again found himself arrested and imprisoned, but in one of the sudden changes of fortune that marked his life, he was soon released thanks to the intervention of powerful patrons, including the Papal Nuncio and possibly also Henri III of France.³⁷ He then travelled to Rome, where he immediately published a second edition of the *Descriptiones* illustrated with engravings by Giovanni Battista Cavallieri.³⁸

The next item in this brief biographical and bibliographic portrait of Richard Verstegan should be his most monumental work, *Theatrum crudelitatum Haereticorum nostri temporis* [Theatre of the cruelties of the heretics of our time]. This publication was a re-edition of Maurice Chauncy's *Historia aliquot nostri saeculi martyrum* published in Mainz in 1550, which had been enlarged and published in a new edition by Erasmus Vendius in Munich, 1573.³⁹ Verstegan printed his edition of the *Theatrum* soon after arriving in Antwerp, at the prestigious publishing house of Christopher Plantin (1587–1588). The Latin text emphasized that the persecution of Catholics in Western Europe (especially in

36 Richard Verstegan probably used this experience writing a later pamphlet entitled *An advertisement written to a secretarie of my L. Treasurers of England* (see below).

37 See Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 32–33; Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late-Sixteenth-century Paris* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, U.K. – Rochester, NY: Royal Historical Society / Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 90–91.

38 Niccolò Circignano, Giovanni Battista, Richard Verstegan, *Ecclesiae Anglicanae trophaea: sive sancto[rum] martyrum, qui pro Christo Catholicaeq[ue] fidei veritate asserenda, antiquo recentioriq[ue] persecutionum tempore, mortem in Anglia subierunt, passiones Romae in Collegio Anglico per Nicolaum Circinatum depictae; nuper autem per Io. Bap. de Caullerij aeneis typis repraesentate...*, (Rome: Bartholomeo de Grassi, 1584). Appended to this work are Richard Verstegan's *Descriptiones quaedam illius inhumanae et multiplicis persecutionis, quam in Anglia propter fidem sustinent Catholice Christiani* (Romae: apud Franciscum Zannettum, 1584).

39 Jean François Gilmont, 'Books of Martyrs,' transl. by Cathrine Randall and Caroline Benforado, in Hans J. Hillebrand (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) (online edition).

England, France and the Low Countries) had taken on systemic dimensions. Its principal cause was identified with the theological errors of the Protestant denominations; these, the text pointed out, had grave political and social consequences.

The title vignette of the *Theatrum*, which had been designed by Richard Verstegan, showed three tonsured monks with crosses on their shoulders following a similarly burdened Christ on His way to Golgotha. This image emblemized the significance of martyrdom as a form of *imitatio Christi*: following Christ by taking up His cross (Mt 16: 24). The suffering of sixteenth-century Roman Catholic martyrs was, by implication, a re-living of the *Via Crucis*, and their death – of Christ's on the Cross. The *Theatrum* was illustrated with prints designed and executed by Verstegan. These etchings showed explicitly the torments to which Catholic laity, priests, nuns and monks had been subjected by their persecutors. Each scene told the story of a different historical event. Culminating in the death of the victims, the scenes were designed as independent pictorial narratives that invited sequential 'reading' by the viewer. Chronological relations were visually represented in spatial terms. The beginning of a sequence of events was displayed in the background and then led to its consequences, which were presented in the middle- and in the foreground. The Latin texts explained the theological and political aspects of the persecution. In their structure these representations mirrored the renaissance emblem, because they too were made up of the following three elements: a *motto* (a descriptive title), *pictura* (the graphic representation of the scene of the martyr's death), and *subscriptio* (explanatory texts in verse and prose). A successful publication, Verstegan's *Theatrum* was reprinted many times.⁴⁰

The Metropolis on the Scheldt

Around 1587 Verstegan finally arrived in the city that became his residence for the next five decades. This city was Antwerp, a teeming commercial metropolis on the river Scheldt in the Low Countries. Verstegan's decision to settle in Antwerp was largely a practical one. Antwerp traditionally hosted a vibrant colony of merchant-entrepreneurs from different European countries, such as England, France, Italy, Spain and Germany. Antwerp was also an important

40 The edition consulted for this article is: [Richard Verstegan], *Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum nostri temporis* (Antverpiae: s.n., 1604), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4H Eccl 777.

hub of the European network of book printing.⁴¹ It was so famous for its wealth and for being the ‘cultural capital’ as Julius Cesar Scaliger extolled it in one of his epigrams: “Others [i.e., other cities] have some things, only I [i.e., Antwerp] have everything” (“Quorum insunt aliis singula, cuncta mihi”).⁴²

Another factor that motivated Richard Verstegan’s decision to come to Antwerp was probably its location close to Britain. This proximity, and a long history of close economic, political and cultural relations with England, were the chief reasons why many Catholic refugees from the British Isles had been attracted to the Habsburg Netherlands:

Laymen with their wives and children, deprived clergy, doctors and students from both universities sought a refuge beyond the seas where they might practice their religion unmolested. English exiles for conscience’s sake [...] flocked in greatest numbers to the [Southern] Netherlands, where they found a welcome reception in a country long connected by ties of friendship and commercial interest with England, and at that time under the rule of Philip II of Spain, whom in Queen Mary’s reign they had been accustomed to look upon as their sovereign.⁴³

On the other hand, Antwerp, like any other large city in the Low Countries, had been exposed since an early date (the 1520s) to Protestant ideas. During the iconoclastic riots of 1566, it had been the scene of attacks on churches and religious institutions. It also had experienced atrocities such as the ‘Spanish Fury’ of 1576, when Habsburg troops mutinied and pillaged the city, murdering some of its inhabitants. Between 1576 and 1585 Antwerp sided with the Protestant rebellion of William of Orange. After a lengthy siege, however, it was re-conquered for the Spanish by Alexander Farnese. Its Protestant (Calvinist) inhabitants were offered a choice: to convert or emigrate. In the aftermath of the Dutch Revolt about half of the burghers of Antwerp left for the Northern Netherlands (especially Amsterdam).⁴⁴

Perhaps the most important commodities traded in Antwerp’s “different kinds of marketplaces” (*omnimodae merces*)⁴⁵ were cultural goods. During

41 See e.g. Leon Voet, *Antwerp: The Golden Age. The Rise and Glory of the Metropolis in the Sixteenth Century* (Antwerp: Mercator, 1973).

42 Julius Cesar Scaliger, ‘Antverpia’ in J.C. Scaliger, *Poemata omnia in duas partes divisa* (Heidelberg: In Bibliopolio Commeliniano, 1600), pp. 556–557 (English transl. M.P.).

43 Knox, *The First and Second Diaries*, p. xix.

44 Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 219.

45 Scaliger, *Poemata omnia*, p. 557.

the first half of the century, and later, after 1585, Antwerp functioned as one of the main “cultural staple markets” of the Low Countries, where, among other things, new renaissance ideas in the arts and literature were being exchanged.⁴⁶ Jan van der Noot (1537–ca. 1595), a pioneer of Renaissance poetry in the Low Countries, lived there, and so did Abraham Ortelius, the renowned map-maker and geographer, and the celebrated printer Christopher Plantin. All belonged to an informal network of humanist scholars and entrepreneurs, to whom the city on the Scheldt owed its vibrant intellectual climate.

After the Spanish victory of 1585 Antwerp slowly rebuilt itself, even though it never regained the position it had under Charles V (reigned 1519–1556). It became the scene of the activities of renowned artists such as Peter Paul Rubens or Jacob Jordaens, as well as of printers, architects and craftsmen. It was one of the major centres of the Counter-Reformation in Northern Europe and ‘an important centre of Spanish mysticism’ in the Low Countries.⁴⁷ It naturally attracted poets and scholars from all over the continent.⁴⁸

Many English Catholic exiles, who had settled in the Southern Netherlands since the 1550s, developed their publishing activities there with the help of Flemish and Brabantine printing houses:

The English exiles did not go abroad to live in idleness. They had too much at heart the cause for which they had given up their country, friends and prospects. There were among them not a few members of the two universities, learned men, well trained in theological science, such as Thomas Harding, Nicholas Sanders, William Allen, Thomas Heskin, Thomas Stapleton, Alan Cope, John Rastall, Thomas Hide, John Marshall, Thomas Dorman, Robert Pointz and others. Louvain was the place to which they were principally attracted because of the convenience which it afforded for writing against the heretics. Nor was it long before they set themselves to work. Treatise followed treatise in defence of the Catholic faith and confutation of Protestant errors. They wrote by preference in English, for their object was to address not the learned but the multitudes. The books were printed in Flanders and then smuggled over in large quantities to

46 This term has been applied to the cultural situation in the early-modern Netherlands by M.A. Schenkeveld-Van der Dussen, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt. Themes and Ideas* (Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1991), p. 137.

47 Borowski, *Iter Polono-Belgo-Ollandicum*, p. 25.

48 For instance Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski SJ, a celebrated Polish poet writing in Latin, who befriended many Netherlandish humanists and whose works of poetry were published in the printing houses of Antwerp. For the reception of Sarbiewski's poetry in the Netherlands, see A. Borowski, *Iter Polono-Belgo-Ollandicum*, pp. 139–150.

England: an operation that was not difficult, on account of the continual communication existing between the two countries.⁴⁹

Richard Verstegan continued these activities cooperating closely with William Allen (1532–1594) and Robert Persons (1546–1610). As Paul Arblaster put it, during this busy period in his life Verstegan started running a “one man media company.”⁵⁰ He maintained channels of communication between Antwerp, England, the English Mission, and the Habsburg administration of the Southern Netherlands. Important information was relayed by word-of-mouth, through trusted messengers, by letter, and finally, in the shape of books which circulated clandestinely between England and the Continent. Some of the printed publications that Richard Verstegan summarized and reviewed were Protestant books produced in England. Other books were produced with the Catholic community of England in mind. These books were edited by Verstegan, but not printed – this task was performed by Flemish printers such as Joachim Troгнаesius and Arnout Coninx, or an Englishman naturalized in Flanders, Henry Jay (Hendrick Jaye).⁵¹ Below, we will examine several of the most important publications by Richard Verstegan. These books are representative of the various types of literature that he distributed through clandestine channels of communication, and offer a unique insight into the world of underground Catholic literature during the Elizabethan period.

Richard Verstegan's ‘Intelligencer’: Truth or Disinformation?

Richard Verstegan's first major publications in the English language, which he produced during the first two decades after his arrival in Antwerp, may be assigned to the category of religious polemical literature. Some of these publications belonged to a genre called ‘epistolary propaganda.’ These were polemical texts, which for the sake of credibility were presented to the reader as authentic letters to or from various (real or fictitious) authors and addressees. This disinformation served several purposes. First, it helped to conceal the identity of the actual authors of these texts, who for obvious reasons wished to remain unknown. Secondly, the reader was more likely to accept the message of such a text, if he or she regarded its source as credible and its alleged author as real and trustworthy. False authorship, besides, could be a safeguard against the confiscation of a pamphlet by the authorities, who were likely to judge

49 Knox, *The First and Second Diaries*, p. xix.

50 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 49.

51 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 49.

its contents by the name on the cover, and who were ignorant of the real author's identity or of the true significance of the publication. Deliberately falsified contents, finally, could be used in an attempt to discredit a letter's alleged author. Of course, epistolary propaganda was not devoid of risk. A reader, who discovered that he or she was being tricked, was likely to reject the entire text as being false, thus rendering it ineffective as a piece of propaganda.

Epistolary propaganda is a literary phenomenon that may be approached from the perspective of the development of the novel, whose early growth had no doubt helped to stimulate, but in a still wider sense, it may also be treated in terms of the problem of 'truth versus fiction' and of mystification in literature. The post-modern novel, for instance, frequently employs mystification as a literary device. Its use is sometimes referred to by literary critics as a 'rhetoric of truth'.⁵² This is because the appearance of a seemingly authentic first-person narrator tends to make the fictional contents more appealing and plausible to the reader.⁵³ However, a reader who finds such a novel trustworthy may be aware, at least partially, of its 'fictional' nature. The same was probably true of the readers of Richard Verstegan's epistolary propaganda. Many of those readers probably accepted a text as credible if they agreed with its general contents, even though at least some of them might have suspected that what they were reading was not actually an 'authentic' document.

Another example of a pamphlet published by Richard Verstegan, composed in the genre of epistolary propaganda, was the *Copy of a Letter Lately Written by a Spanish Gentleman*.⁵⁴ This was supposedly a letter sent by a Spanish officer, who had been released from English captivity, where he had found himself after the defeat of the Armada, to the Englishman who had held him prisoner. In reality it was a response to an English pamphlet in the same genre – William Cecil's *The Copie of a Letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin Mendoza*, allegedly written by a Spanish prisoner-of-war in England.⁵⁵ If Cecil's pamphlet

52 Mieke Bal, *Narratology. Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 22.

53 Bal, *Narratology*, p. 22.

54 [Richard Verstegan], *The copy of a letter lately vwritten by a Spanishe gentleman, to his freind in England in refutation of sundry calumnies, there falsly bruited, and spred emonge the people. The originall whereof vvas vwritten in Spanish, since the authors being in England, who by reason of a ship of those that miscaried of the late Armado, vvas taken, and there detained prisoner, vntill his deliury by ransome. Now newly translated into Englishe, for the benefite of those (of that nation) that vnderstand not the Spanishe tounge* ([Antwerp: J. Trognesium], 1589).

55 See Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, pp. 43–44; Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolary: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500–1700* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), pp. 189–90, pp. 211–212.

was a literary equivalent of waging war under a 'false flag' (i.e., when one of the combatants carries out an act of aggression assuming a false identity), then Verstegan responded using the same method. Generally, however, Verstegan's text offered a more convincing impression of what a Catholic Spanish officer, who remained loyal to his sovereign, might have had to say on the subject of the political situation in England.

Richard Verstegan's *Copy of a Letter* provides a detailed image of how recusant émigrés viewed and interpreted the social and political situation in their home country. English Catholics were presented in the pamphlet as the victims of 'tyranny' and 'dissimulation.' The text focused in particular on the alleged crimes that Elizabeth's government routinely accused English Catholics of committing (or conspiring to commit). The most serious allegations concerned the existence of a plan bearing some resemblance to the later Gunpowder Plot. According to this scheme "the Queene, and the whole Courte, should haue bin blowne up with gonnepowder, which was said to be conveyed thether [to the royal palace] in trunckes, and strawed under the rushes."⁵⁶

The pamphlet laid bare a climate of repression, mistrust, fear and conformity, which was the direct result of Cecil's anti-Catholic policies. Arson attacks or assassination plots, which caused panic among the population, were described as being in reality the work of Cecil's intelligence services. The plots were a provocation; during the repression that followed many Catholics were severely punished for crimes which they had never committed:

An infynite number of suche blazes [arson attacks blamed on Catholics] have bin made, amonge which, the often kylling of the Queene, and the sundry plotts for the firing of London, are no meane may-games. But haw false and fayned soever they were, there turnes thereby have bin served to such purpose, that it hathe extended, even to the losses of the lives and landes, of many of greatest vertue and honnour, in the whole Realme, whose innocencies and uniuste suffrings, equitye and truthe.

It is understandable that most of the English population were unwilling to stand up to the authorities, but submitted instead to the prevailing orthodoxy of the times:

The wiser sorte well seing by experience, whereunto all tendeth, are so sufficiently warned by others harme, that they dare not but seeme to say and soothe, whatsoever is agreeable to the humours of their superiours.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ [Verstegan], *The copy of a letter*, pp. 7–8.

⁵⁷ [Verstegan], *The copy of a letter*, p. 8.

Richard Verstegan's non-Catholic readers might have learned from the *Copy of a Letter* about the destructive nature of the anti-Catholic policies which were being implemented in England. The text was most probably intended, however, for recusant Catholics, who were intensely aware of the negative effects of Cecil's policies. The text once again confirmed Verstegan's strong commitment to defending the values of religious liberty and the rule of law, which were crucial to the survival of the Catholic community of England.

Another pamphlet in the genre of epistolary propaganda, probably co-written by Richard Verstegan and Robert Persons, was *An aduertisement written to a secretarie of my L. Treasurers of England, by an Inglish intelligencer as he passed throughe Germanie towardes Italie*, [Antwerp, s.n.] 1592. This pamphlet pretended to convey a message to William Cecil's secretary from one of his 'intelligencers' (i.e. intelligence agents). In reality, the letter was a defense of the rights of English Catholics, but its references to Cecil and his intelligence apparatus gave it the appearance of an authentic, official document, which had been disclosed to the public. Allusions to the risk connected with the exchange of official correspondence were scattered throughout the text strengthening the impression that the alleged 'letter' had in fact been intercepted somewhere on the Continent:

at an other time I shal write more vnto you, yf I may perceau that my letters doe come vnto your handes safely, whereof I haue greate feare and doubt, consideringe the difficulties of passages, and manifolde interception of letters, whereof I vnderstande daily by reason of warres.⁵⁸

The purpose of this mystification was to persuade the reader of the authenticity of the contents of the pamphlet. But even though the author of these words, the 'Inglish intelligencer' did not exist, having been invented by Verstegan, the passage quoted above was not completely untrue. On the contrary, it accurately described a situation that must have been painfully familiar to Robert Persons, Richard Verstegan and their associates as they tried to maintain a clandestine network of communication with England.

The *Aduertisement* is, first and foremost, a valuable source of information about the strategies that the governments of early modern Europe and their 'intelligence services' implemented in order to prevent the circulation of illicit publications. The fictitious protagonist of the pamphlet, the 'intelligencer,' described the actions that he had undertaken against a Latin book that was

⁵⁸ [Richard Verstegan, Robert Persons], *An aduertisement written to a secretarie of my L. Treasurers of England, by an Inglish intelligencer as he passed throughe Germanie towardes Italie* ([Antwerp: s.n.], 1592), p. 6.

produced for the clandestine market in England. This book had been printed legally in the German city of Augsburg, which is possibly an alias for Antwerp.⁵⁹ In return for a bribe, the 'intelligencer' managed to obtain a copy of this book, which he had been given by "a certain principall person." He then produced a summary, and the book itself was soon returned to its owner, a printer, who was using it to prepare a second edition of the book. Plans were being made for new editions in other countries, so the chance of preventing its circulation was very small.⁶⁰

The *Aduertisement's* witty and at times even comical account of an English secret agent's attempts to prevent the publication of a Catholic book, provides evidence that Verstegan and Persons must have been very well aware of the impact of their underground publications back in England. The events described in this pamphlet were probably based on Verstegan's own experience in the field of publishing and intelligence-gathering. The text also leaves one with the impression that Verstegan and Persons must have had a clear insight into the methods of their opponents.⁶¹ Flanders was explicitly mentioned as the place where the 'intelligencer' had tried, unsuccessfully, to track down the unknown authors of a Catholic pamphlet:

I sent you with my former letters while I was in Flandres two or three diuers kindes of answers made and printed in Inglish without name of authours against the said late proclamation, and some others I was told were in coming forth though I could not learne by whome.⁶²

The English 'intelligencer's' letter was a daring and paradoxical advertisement of the high morale and effective *modus operandi* of the makers of clandestine

59 'Augusta,' i.e. *Augusta Vindelicorum*, the Latin name for Augsburg, is used in this pamphlet.

60 "I haue learned of an other booke also written in Latin, and lately sent hither to be printed againe, & is now in hande & some sheetes already drawn of: which booke, though I can neyther hynder the printinge thereof, (for I haue assayed) nor yet get any whole copy into my handes to sende vnto you (for I vnderstande there is but one onely as yet in this citie, and this is that which serueth for the printer, sent hither by a certain principall person to be reprinted as soone as euer it had passed the presse in an other place) yet haue I so wrought as yesterday beinge Sunday, and the print standinge still, I gat for mony the sighte of the booke, and in some few nightes I tooke out all the summe, and chiefe effecte thereof, & doe sende it herewith vnto you, promisinge further to send also the whole worke as soone as euer it shal come." [Verstegan, Persons], *An aduertisement*, pp. 6–7.

61 This episode mirrored in some respects the actions of Sir Edward Stafford who obtained a copy of Verstegan's *Descriptiones* from a Paris printer, in an attempt to stop the book's publication (see above).

62 [Verstegan, Persons], *An aduertisement*, p. 6.

literature. It was also a tribute to the efficiency of their communication networks. A different passage in the same pamphlet suggested, ironically, that because an underground book was printed in a large number of copies, it needed little time to reach England by underground channels, and it would therefore end up on Cecil's desk sooner than the "intelligencer" would be able to obtain a copy of the same book and send it to his superiors:

yf the haste and greedinesse of printinge it in so many places and countreys, at one time be such, as here some woulde make me beleewe it is like yow shal haue it otherwise there in Inglande before I can send it from hence, but yet this shall not lett me from doinge my dewtie also in sending it from hence as sone as I can get it.⁶³

The efficiency of the clandestine press and of underground distribution networks must have been, understandably, a source of pride to English Catholic émigrés in the Low Countries. It was, however, a sense of pride tempered by an awareness of the considerable risks that confronted the readers of clandestine literature in England.

The language of the 'intelligencer's' letter was filled with anti-Catholic terms. This might have been intended as a strategy to make the text appear more authentic, or as a parody of the type of discourse used to refer to Roman Catholics in non-Catholic circles in Elizabethan England. In this respect it was certainly very effective. Quoted here are the "intelligencer's" remarks about an underground book authored by a Catholic priest under the pseudonym 'Ihon [John] Philopatris':⁶⁴

it is the moste sharpe, bitter, and odious thing that euer I thinck was written by the papistes, though the writer pretende great modestie, and doeth not in deede vse open raylinge termes, but by a close, fluente, and cutting stile, and by discussing (as I haue saide) of many, and curious particularities, and by pretending to proue all he saith, by our owne bookes, lawes, cronicles, and recordes, he filleth his reader with infinite desire to reade al through.⁶⁵

63 [Verstegan, Persons], *An aduertisement*, p. 7.

64 Philopater was actually Robert Persons (Andreas Philopatris), and the tract referred to was *Elizabethae Angliae Reginae haeresim Calviniam propugnantis saevissimum in Catholicos sui regini edictum* (1592), see Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 57–58 (Arblaster also mentions in the same place several possible literary parallels for the genre of a 'fictional letter by an intelligencer' that Verstegan used in his pamphlet).

65 [Verstegan, Persons], *An aduertisement*, p. 6.

Paradoxically, although this Catholic book was 'odious' and 'bitter,' one could not resist reading it from beginning to end! The remainder of the pamphlet contained the promised summary of this illicit Catholic treatise. At this point, it must have become obvious to all reading the *Aduertisement* that the purpose of this publication was entirely different than what the 'intelligencer' proclaimed as his motives. That the pamphlet was entitled an 'advertisement' was an exquisite irony on the part of Verstegan and Persons. Burghley's intelligence apparatus was made to look very foolish indeed, when a supposed letter from one of its agents in reality turned out to be vehicle for disseminating the Catholic point of view, which the English government was doing its utmost to suppress.

Richard Verstegan's next longer publication was *A declaration of the true causes of the great troubles, presupposed to be intended against the realme of England* [Antwerp: J. Trognesium?], 1592.⁶⁶ This was a historical work dealing with the reasons for the persecution of Catholics under Elizabeth I. Unlike in the case of the epistolary pamphlets, here no effort was made to conceal the religious or political views expressed in this text. Importantly, this pamphlet provides some interesting information about the reception of clandestine literature in Elizabethan England. It described the risks faced by anyone found possessing illicit books, and offered the following word of advice, asking the reader:

to behold the manifest truth, that shall in this treatise be laid open vnto him, *the which for his owne safty he must vse with secreesie, and sylence* (emphasis – M.P.).⁶⁷

Secrecy was indispensable simply because recusant communities in England were being infiltrated by spies, informants, and agents-provocateurs. Their actions, designed to ensnare and prosecute Catholics, were also outlined, as a warning to readers, in the same pamphlet.⁶⁸

Translator, Religious Poet and Antiquarian

Around 1600 Richard Verstegan edited two publications which belonged to the category of devotional literature. The first of these was the *Primer, or office of*

66 For an analysis, cf. Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, pp. 55–57, and also Stefania Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early-Modern England, 1570–1625* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 62–65.

67 [Richard Verstegan], *A declaration of the true causes of the great troubles, presupposed to be intended against the realme of England* ([Antwerp: J. Trognesium?], 1592), p. 4.

68 [Verstegan], *A declaration*, p. 43.

the Blessed Virgin Marie (1599). It was an English translation, with a parallel Latin text, of the Book of Hours promulgated by Pius V in 1571 (*Officium B. Mariae nuper reformatum*).⁶⁹ The *Primer* was intended as a devotional aid for literate laypeople. It is easy to imagine how this book, in a handy octavo edition, might have been smuggled into England together with other underground publications, aboard fishing boats or merchant vessels sailing from towns along the Flemish coast. A few texts from the *Primer* were later set to music by William Byrd in his *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* (1612).⁷⁰

Richard Verstegan's other important publication, also designed to foster religious piety, were his *Odes*, subtitled: *In Imitation of the seaven penitential psalmes, with sundry other poems and ditties tending to deuotion and pietie* (1601). In this volume Verstegan displayed his talents as a poet, composing verse paraphrases of the Psalms, the Mysteries of the Rosary, and the prophecies of the Sibyls.⁷¹ The same volume additionally contained a collection of narrative songs and poems about important events from the Gospels, such as the Nativity ('Our Blessed Ladies Lullaby') or dealing with hagiographic subjects. The reception of Verstegan's *Odes* has yet to be investigated. Paul Arblaster hypothesized that the *Odes* were dedicated to the English Benedictine nuns in Brussels, whose monastery had been founded in 1599 by Lady Mary Percy.⁷² The style and concept of the compositions were, according to the same scholar, 'Southwellian' with some 'Ignatian' elements.⁷³ An analysis and interpretation of one of the poems from the *Odes*, entitled 'A Resemblance of Martyrs,' will be provided below.

When around 1604 Richard Verstegan's role in intelligence work came to an end, he embarked on the second stage of his career as an author and publisher.⁷⁴ It was marked by the publication of a historical work dedicated to James I, the *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities*, which, owing to its

69 Kerry McCarthy, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 162.

70 David Frazer, *Sources of texts for Byrd's 1611 Psalmes, Early Music* (2010) 38 (1), pp. 171–172.

71 On Richard Verstegan's paraphrases of the Sibylline prophecy, see Deirdre Serjeantson, 'Translation, Authorship, and Gender: The Case of Jane Seager's *Divine Prophecies of the Ten Sibills*,' in Gabriela Schmidt (ed.), *Elizabethan Tradition and Literary Culture* (New York – Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), pp. 227–254; see also Marcin Polkowski, "'That true word [...] shal be felt withall.'" The Incarnation of the Word in Sibylline Oracles as a Theme of Renaissance Poetry and Iconography' in M. Grzegorzewska, J. Ward, M. Burrows (eds.), *Breaking the Silence. Poetry and the Kenotic Word* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2015), pp. 63–87.

72 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 81.

73 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 81.

74 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*, p. 77.

different character falls outside the scope of this article. Finally, this period saw the publication of various polemical and satirical works in the Dutch language which Verstegan had successfully mastered.⁷⁵ Richard Verstegan's *oeuvre* as a polemical author in Dutch is too large to be discussed here, but for the sake of completeness a concise bibliography has been provided below.⁷⁶

The 'fyre of sacred loue.' An Interpretation of Richard Verstegan's 'A Resemblance of Martyrs'

One of the things that made the English Mission unique was the participation of dedicated lay Catholics like Richard Verstegan. As a member of the Mission's

-
- 75 Scholars disagree on the significance of Verstegan's dedication of this work to James I. Paul Arblaster calls the *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities* 'a very straightforward work, with the simple object of demonstrating the descent of the English from the Germanic peoples of Northern Europe' (*Antwerp and the World*, op. cit., p. 85). Donna B. Hamilton, however, has suggested that Verstegan's antiquarian research was actually intended to undermine, in a covert way, the political-religious claims of the Tudor dynasty. See Donna B. Hamilton, 'Richard Verstegan and Catholic resistance: the encoding of antiquarianism and love,' in R. Dutton, A.G. Findlay, R. Wilson (eds.), *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 87–104.
- 76 Verstegan's major known publications in Dutch (listed in the Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands) start with *De beclaghelycke tragedie van een ruyspijp* (s.l., s.n., after 1601) [The sorrowful tragedy of a reed flute], a comedy; *Nederlandsche antiquiteyten met de bekeeringhe van eenighe der selue landen tot het kersten ghelooe* (Antwerp: G. Bellerus, 1613) is a translation of his *Restitution*; next, Verstegan published a series of Dutch epigrams, *Neder-duytsche epigrammen op verscheyden saecken* (Mechelen: H. Jaye, 1617); *De gazette van nieuwe-maren, van de gheheele wereldt* (Antwerp: H. Verdussen, 1618) [Gazette of new tidings from the entire world] was a fictitious, satirical journal; *Characteren oft scherpsinnighe beschrijvinghe van de proprieteyten, oft eygendommen van verscheyden personen* (Antwerp: G. Lesteens, 1619), a satirical collection of character descriptions modeled on the 'character writing' of Thomas Overbury; *Den Wet-Steen des Verstants. Waer mede Door verscheyden fraye propositen / wijse antwoorden / redenen ende sententien / t'verstant vanden leser verscherpt woordt. By een vergaedert, ende in orden ghestelt. Door R.V.* (Antwerp: G. Lesteens, 1620) [The whetstone of the mind. In which by curious statements, wise answers and mottos the mind of the reader is made sharp. Collected by R.V.], a collection of anecdotes; *Oorloge ghevochten met die wapenen van die waerheydt, en van die reden...teghen twee valsche pretentien vande rebellighe Hollanders* [A war fought with the weapons of truth and reason...against two false pretensions of the rebellious Hollanders] (Antwerp: J. Knobbaert, 1628), a polemical tract aimed against the participants of the Dutch Revolt; *Exercitien van verstandt in varieteyt van scherpsinnighe epigrammen ende epitaphien* (Antwerp: G. Verhulst, 1641), a collection of epigrams.

'lay apostolate,' Verstegan dedicated his life to serving the cause of the Roman Catholic Church in England and the Low Countries.⁷⁷ His decision to embark on this path certainly placed a considerable burden on his professional and personal life. It was a choice based on a strong sense of moral obligation, and required almost endless self-sacrifice. Yet even though Verstegan was never called to lay down his life for the faith, unlike, for instance, many of the 'Seminary Priests,' he was no doubt very strongly convinced of the utmost importance of martyrdom as a path to sainthood.

Reflections on sainthood, martyrdom, and on the obligations of the ordinary Christian are echoed in Richard Verstegan's poem 'A Resemblance of Martyrs' from the *Odes*. In spite of its apparent simplicity, 'A Resemblance of Martyrs' is in reality a highly complex and multi-layered text. Although until now it has not been studied closely by scholars, it is perhaps one of the most memorable among Verstegan's poems owing to its vigorous language and striking imagery.⁷⁸

Before the craggy flint
Meetes with the hardned steel,
It seemes not to conteyne,
The vertue it conteynes,
But when it doth the stroke
Of swift encountring feel,
Eu'n then the force apeeres,
That hid in it remaines,
Right so resolved myndes
Through wicked fortunes wheel,
Encountring with mishap,
And feeling bitter paynes,
Make fyre of sacred loue,
From ardent zeal proceed:
Which mounting up-to heau'n,
Doth all the Starres exceed.⁷⁹

77 This term, "lekenapostolaat" in Dutch, was applied to Verstegan by W.J.C. Buitendijk, *Het calvinisme*, p. 166.

78 'A Resemblance of Martyrs' was included by L.I. Guiney in her anthology *Recusant Poets*, I, p. 216. The poem's contents were briefly examined by Samuel C. Chew, who referred to it as a "naked emblem," implying that Verstegan's text was basically a *subscriptio* without a *pictura*. Samuel C. Chew, 'Richard Verstegen and the "Amorum Emblemata" of Otho van Veen,' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 8 (1945) 2, pp. 192–199.

79 Richard Verstegan, *Odes. In Imitation of the seaven penitential psalmes, with sundry other poems and ditties tending to deuotion and pietie* (Antwerp: Arnout Conincx, 1601), p. 76.

The opening of the poem conveys a poetic description of what happens when two objects, a 'flint' and 'steel,' collide with each other, sparking an explosion. What this metaphor describes, in other words, is the firing of a sixteenth-century flintlock pistol. In this type of early firearm, a 'flint' attached to the cock struck a hardened steel plate, called a frizzen, producing a spark that ignited the priming charge. This, in turn, ignited the main charge of gunpowder causing an explosion that propelled the bullet through the barrel.⁸⁰ The initial action, the flint striking a plate of steel, was insignificant, but its results had a tremendous impact.

The image of a 'flint' and 'steel' colliding forms the first part of an extended simile in the poem. What Verstegan found the most interesting, however, was not this image as such, but its potential for being an illustration, an exemplification, of a moral and theological truth. Likewise, the simile continues, by his simple resolve a person led by 'sacred love' (i.e. religious love of God, but also Christian *caritas*) will prove able to withstand the most extreme kinds of misfortune. This second type of 'encounter,' this time in the form of a human being's conscious and free decision to face suffering and death, is capable of producing a magnificent outburst of excellence, goodness and sanctity.

In this poem Richard Verstegan freely developed two ideas, corresponding to commonplaces in the Gospels, namely, "good may come out of adversity" and "great things may come out of small ones."⁸¹ Giving these notions a new and original expression through the use of powerful, concrete imagery, the poem probed the relationship between a martyr and his own seemingly insignificant life, and the greatness and glory of holiness, one of the paths which leads, as the Church has always taught, through the sacrifice of one's own life for God. And yet, besides in the title, the actual fact of martyrdom was not mentioned explicitly, nor was this term used anywhere else in the poem. The 'hidden force' that is brighter than the stars, may be understood, therefore, as the effect of

80 Such a firearm might have been an early version of the flintlock called a snapaunce, which first appeared around 1560 in the Netherlands. The 'true' flintlock was designed later, around 1610 in France, and therefore it could not have been known to Richard Verstegan nearly a full decade earlier. See Jeff Kinard, *Pistols: An Illustrated History of Their Impact* (Santa Barbara, Ca.: ABC – CLIO, 2003), pp. 16–18.

81 Cf., respectively, 2 Cor 14: "For that which is at present momentary and light of our tribulation, worketh for us above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory"; Mt 13:23 (the Parable of the Sower): "But he that received the seed upon good ground, is he that heareth the word, and understandeth, and beareth fruit, and yieldeth the one a hundred-fold, and another sixty, and another thirty." All quotations from the Bible cited after the Douai-Rheims Version, with revisions by Richard Challoner (www.drbo.org, accessed on 5 December 2014).

any sacrifice that one is freely willing to take up, which is accompanied by suffering and adversity. Such a sacrifice does not have to lead to martyrdom, but its positive results, which always start with a decision of the individual free will, are forged on the anvil of toil, struggle, and misadventure, things that belong to the daily experience of all Christians regardless of their station in life.

The 'fire of sacred loue' manifested itself most visibly in the lives of martyrs, for example St. Edmund Campion (1540–1581). But perhaps it could be ignited too by quiet, insignificant and 'hidden' (also in the sense of being 'covert' or 'clandestine') actions of Catholic laity, in other words, of men like Richard Verstegan? These lay Catholics would not be called to martyrdom (although many, probably including Verstegan himself, expected to eventually meet with this fate). However, even when their life's work often caused them all kinds of 'bitter paynes,' as in the case of Verstegan, they nevertheless persevered in their efforts to produce 'sparks' of love, truth and goodness that "mount[ing] ... up-to heau'n" might achieve great things for the glory of God. Perhaps this was what Verstegan believed to be the ultimate reward for the hardships that he had to endure for most of his life as a publisher and distributor of clandestine literature. His existence was outwardly a fairly unremarkable one, but in spite of this he must have strongly believed that his work helped to convey to the world (and especially – to England) the light of the truth about God and His Church. That humble efforts, although they may seem at first sight unspectacular or unattractive, can be too an effective way of serving God, was perhaps the most important message of this poem. We may recognize in this message a testament, as it were, that Richard Verstegan left behind for his past and future readers.

Index

- A True reporte of the death & martyrdome of
M. Campion Iesuite and preiste* 270
- Abbot, Robert 151
- Abercomby SJ, Robert 12, 30, 31, 39
- Aberdeen 30
- Academy of Kraków (also University of
Kraków) 68, 69, 70, 269n
- aceticism 119, 122, 127
- Achilles 47
- Acquaviva, Claudius, Superior General of the
Society of Jesus 22, 80, 107, 123, 164, 196,
222n
- Agazzari SJ, Alfonso 104n, 105, 157, 164, 188,
193n
- Alexander Jagiellon (Jagiellończyk), King of
Poland 7
- Alfied, Thomas 106, 107n, 214, 220, 220n,
231, 232, 232n, 269
- Allen, William 28, 93, 94, 98, 101, 102, 103,
104n, 108, 120, 135, 159–160, 162, 200,
220, 230, 232n, 236, 237, 240, 250, 254,
257n, 275, 276
- alumbrados (illuminationists)* 132, 134
- Alvarez de Paz, Jacobo 122, 123
- Alvarez, Balthasar 123
- Ambrosia (Ambrosiana)* 39, 52, 52n, 54
- Ambrosius, Saint 52
- Amsterdam 212, 274
- Anabaptists 23, 38
- anathema* 57–58, 181–182
- Anglican Church 27, 96n, 121, 170, 226
- Anjou match 156, 161, 164,
- Anna Jagiellon (Anna Jagiellonka), Queen of
Poland 23
- Anne of Denmark, Queen of England 33
- anti-Jesuit pamphlets 57–62, 64, 66, 67, 69
- Anti-Trinitarians (see Arians, Polish
Brethren) 23, 25, 38, 59, 74, 79, 80, 84,
85, 87
- Antichrist 98, 135
- Antwerp 15, 43, 96, 106, 116, 119, 160, 212, 214,
232, 233, 235, 254n, 258, 272, 273, 274,
275, 276, 279n, 280, 282
- Arblaster, Paul 263, 268, 269, 271, 276, 283
- Arianism (Anti-Trinitarianism,
Socinianism) 28, 37, 82, 87 (Arius), 205
- Arians (see also Polish Brethren, Anti-
trinitarians) 23, 25, 38, 59, 74, 79,
80, 84, 85
- Arias, Francisco 122, 123, 219
- Armenian Church 38, 218
- ars moriendi* 42, 218
- Arundel, Henry (Earl of Nottingham) 157,
159–160, 163
- Arundel, Sir Charles 156–160, 163, 165
- Atkinson, John 227, 227n
- Augsburg 280, 280n
- Augustine, Saint 54, 234, 257
- Aunger, William 228, 228n,
- authorship 36, 131, 141, 154, 155n, 159,
161, 165, 276
- Avila de, Juan 133
- Aylmer, Thomas 191, 206,
- Babington, Anthony 201, 234, 243–251,
249n, 261
- Babington Plot 243–244, 248n
- Bacon, John 236
- Badajoz 129
- Baltic region 80
- Báñez, Domingo 126
- Baptiste Platine de Cremona 247
- Barber, John 231–234, 236
- Barberini, Maffeo (later Pope Urban) 36
- Basset, Charles 104, 104n, 189
- Bateman, John 227, 227n
- Bathory, Stephan, King of Poland 72, 78, 88
- Bazylik, Cyprian 18–19
- Beaton, James 162–163, 249
- Bellamy Family 185, 203
- Bellamy, Dorethe 202
- Bellamy, Richard 202
- Bellamy, William 202
- Bellarmino SJ, Robert 34, 42, 141, 235, 258
- Bembus, Mateusz 65
- Benedictine nuns 144, 283
- Benoist, René 247
- Bernardoni, Giovanni Maria 80

- Bertrand, Phillipus 126, 126n
 Beza, Theodor 138, 205–206, 210, 228n, 229
 Biała 81
Bibliografia staropolska 3, 4, 4n
 Bibliographical tools 3
 binder 68, 187, 201, 257
 binding 8, 116, 119n, 124, 185–186, 196n, 201, 202n, 203, 210, 213, 257, 260
 Bishop, William 120, 121
 Blundell SJ, Joseph 118
 Boarstall House 143
 Bohemian Brethren 38
 Bologne 72, 78
 Bombino, Paulo 186, 187n, 208
 Bonner, Edward 100
 book collection 6, 114–115, 117, 234, 247, 260–261
 book history 1, 8, 226n
 book ownership 217, 220, 224, 217–262
 book trade 71, 131, 149, 150, (subversive) 155, 223, (Catholic) 230n
 booksellers 2–3, 60, 118n, 130
 Borgarucci, Guilio 157
 Boscard, Charles 124
 Bosgrave SJ, James 12, 20, 21, 40
 Bossy, John 100, 155, 163, 165
 Braniewo (also Braunsberg) 12, 13n, 20, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 45, 55, 62, 74, 79
 Brathwaite, Richard 151
 Briant SJ, Alexander 19, 209
 Bridgettines 144
 Bridgewater, John 19
 Brinkley, Stephen 97, 99, 101–103, 105, 164, 191, 191n, 192, 196, 197, 200, 246
 Bristow, Richard 98, 102, 214, 236, 250, 259
 Brock SJ, Adam 12, 29, 31, 84
 Brome, Bridget 143
 Brome, Elizabeth 143
 Brome, George 243–248
 Brome, Sir Christopher 244–245
 Brooksby, William 101
 Browne, Anthony (Lord Montague) 103
 Browne, Francis 103, 104, 104n
 Brożek, Jan 57, 58, 62, 69, 70
 Bruce, William 38
 Bruno SJ, Vincenzo 219
 Brussels 36, 283
 Brześć Litewski (Brest, Belarus) 79, 82, 90
 Buckinghamshire 112n, 143
 Buckinghamshire, Countess of (Mary Villiers) 120
 Budny, Szymon 80
 Bunny, Edmund 122, 143, 151, 153, 256
 Bullinger, Heinrich 228
 Burghley, Lord (also William Cecil) 44n, 106, 55, 171, 172, 194, 206, 237–238, 277, 279
 Burton, Robert 13, 13n
 Busti de, Bernardus 233, 234n
 Byrd, William 209, 242, 242n, 283
 Caligari SJ, Giovanni Andrea 72, 72n
 Calissia (also Kalisz) 40, 41, 42, 52, 53, 54, 55
 Calvin, Jean 98, 138, 204, 205, 206, 228n, 229, 236–237, 247, 249
 Calvinists 11, 14, 18–19, 22, 25–27, 30, 59, 66, 69, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 82, 84, 85, 87–88, 148, 206, 247, 274
 Cambrai 144
 Cambridge 16, 150, 170, 191, 206, 226, 228, 228n, 229–230, 234, 247
 Cambridge University 150, 169, 170, 191, 206, 226, 226n, 227n, 228, 230, 230
 Campani, Giovanni Paulo 79, 80
 Campion SJ, Edmund 20, 22, 23, 25, 81, 87, 93, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 112n, 148, 156, 160, 163, 164, 213–216, 230, 240, 245, 247, 248, 250, 269, 287
 Canisius SJ, Peter 95, 99, 102, 141, 219, 228n, 247, 257–258
 Cano, Melchior 133
captatio benevolentiae 270
caritas 286
 Carranza de, Bartolome 145–146, 146n
 Carter, William 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 191, 196, 219n, 240, 246
 Carvajal de, Luisa 134
 Carwell, Thomas 120, 121n
 Castelli, Giovanni Battista 162
 Castelnau 163
 Catesby, Sir William 192
 Catherine, Saint 54
 Catholic Association of Young Catholic Gentlemen (also George Gilbert) 163
 Catholic books 97, 98, 115, 122, 141, 142, 228, 229, 229n, 230, 231, 233, 236–237
 Catholic press 97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 240, 249
 Catholic refugees 274

- Catholics 11, 15, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 30, 33,
 59, 80, 84, 88, 95, 96, 98, 100, 102, 105,
 106, 108, 109, 120, 136, 138, 141, 145, 147,
 148, 152, 157, 158–159, 188–190, 192–193,
 200, 218, 232, 234–235, 238–239, 241,
 257–261
 Cavallieri, Giovanni Battista 272
 Cawood, John 97
 Cawood, Gabriel 149
 Cecil, John 158, 158n
 Cecil, William, Lord Burghley 55, 106, 157,
 159, 171, 172, 194, 206, 277, 278, 279, 281
 censors, Elizabethan 269
 censorship 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 67, 70,
 84, 95, 147, 131, 154
 Cezary, Franciszek 69–70
 Chambers, Edward 192
 Chandieu de, Antoine 14
 Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula, (Tower of
 London) 187, 202
 Charke, William 24, 104, 206, 210n
 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor 80, 275
 Chauncy, Maurice 272
 Chester, Robert 42n
 Christ Church College, Cambridge 233
 Christ Church College, Oxford 231,
 232n, 268
 Christian 98, 99, 102, 108, 131, 132, 134, 135,
 138, 145, 146, 149, 151, 152, 153, 161, 200
 Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford 105,
 201, 217
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius 176
 Cichocki, Kasper 37, 38
 Ciolek, Erazm, Bishop of Płock, secretary of
 King Alexander Jagiellon 7
 Cisneros de, Garcia 132
 clandestine literature 263, 265, 266, 282
 clandestine press 281
 Clavius SJ, Christopher, SJ 108
 Ćmielów 73
 College of the Holy Apostles 111, 117
 College of St Francis Xavier 110, 112, 116,
 117, 124
 College of St Hugh 118
 College of the Immaculate Conception 117
 Collegium Hosianum 45
 Collegium Romanum 60
 Cologne 82, 116, 123, 213, 227
 Commendone, Giovanni Francesco 77, 213
 Communist rule 1
 Complutesian Polyglot 132
 Compton, John 197
 Compton, Lord Henry 192
*Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in
 Anglia* 19, 197, 200, 214
 Constitution, (of the Polish-Lithuanian
 Commonwealth) 38, (constitutions of
 Council of Trent) 60, 192
 controversy 188, 190, 192
conversos 153
convivencia 132
 Cope, Alan 275
 Copernicus, Nicholas 28
 Corby, Ralph 27
 Cordova de, Antonio 136
 Cornwallis, Thomas 236, 237, 249
 Corpus Christi 145
 Council of Trent (See also Tridentine) 11,
 15, 28, 29, 56, 60, 64, 71, 171, 181, 145, 192,
 228n, 254n, 258
 Counter-Reformation 28, 29, 37, 56, 67, 79,
 80, 84, 90, 128, 131, 141, 145, 169, 223, 263,
 275
 Court of Cordeliers 164
 Crespin, Jean 18
 Crete 72, 215
 Crichton, William 162
 Crusius, Marcin 75, 77
 Culing, Stephen 77
 Cwm 112, 116, 117
 da Lucca, Pietro 219
 Damascus 72
 Danzig (also Gdańsk) 3, 28, 29, 30
 Darbyshire, Thomas 100
 Dasypodius, Conrad 75
De optimo senatore (See also
 The Counsellor) 42, 167, 169, 171
De republica emendanda 59
De schismate Anglicana 161
De visibili Monarchia 205, 213, 214n
 Denys, John 228–229
devotio moderna 132
 Dewulf, Jeroen 266
 Diatelevi, Francisco 67
 Dickenson, John 38
 Didier, Joannes 43
 Dijkgraaf, Henrik 118

- Dillon, Anne 263
 disputation 187, 202, 204, 210, 210n, 211
 Divine Justice 172, 181
 Docwra, Sir Thomas 202
Domus pauperum 29
 Dorman, Thomas 230, 275
 Dorset 190
 Douai 29, 97, 99, 109, 112, 141, 221, 230, 233,
 237, 240, 251
 Douai-Rheims New Testament 220, 221, 230,
 233, 237, 240, 256
 Duffy, Eamon 146
 Dún an Óir 189
duodecimo 116
 Durie, John 250
 Dutch Republic (also Northern
 Netherlands) 274, 267
 Dutch Revolt 156
 Działyński, Paweł 31
- Earl of Shrewsbury 118
 Eastland Company 31, 32, 36, 38
 Eck, Johannes 233
 edicts 59
 Edinburgh 33, 69n
 Edward IV, King of England 49
 Egerton, Francis, Countess of
 Bridgewater 153
 Egerton, Stephen 152
 Egypt 72
 Elbląg (also Elbing) 23, 31, 36, 38
 Elizabeth I, Queen of England 13, 23, 35, 43,
 49, 95, 96, 97, 100, 103, 156, 159, 160, 204,
 230–231, 244
 Elizabethan 19, 43, 51, 94, 95, 99, 106, 145,
 148, 150, 161, 165, 171, 196n, 213, 253,
 217–261
 Elizabethan Settlement (Elizabethan
 Protestant Regime) 11, 43, 138, 148, 165,
 168, 170, 224, 247, 257
 (England) 267, 281, 282, (London) 267
 Elyot, George 194
 Emerson, Ralph 155, 220n, 224, 226
 England 11, 14, 15, 15n, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26,
 93, 100, 103, 105, 106, 107, 109, 112, 115,
 116, 117, 120, 145, 146, 147, 149, 151, 152,
 154–155, 157–161, 163, 167, 188–191, 192n,
 201, 213–214, 254
 Englefield, Francis 159, 159n, 164
- English College 72, 97, 105, 107, 109, 112, 114,
 142, 157, 160, 165, 188
 English Jesuits XI1, 12, 20, 52, 271
 English Mission 93, 108, 155, 163, 190n, 217,
 219–220, 223, 230, 253, 261, 271, 276, 284
 Enlightenment 2, 154
 Erasmus, Desiderius 132
 Esche van, Nicolaus 219
 Estella de, Diego 108, 123, 154, 219, 254
 Estreicher, Karol 3
 Ethelred, King of England 49
 Euclidian geometry 75
 Europe 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 28, 29, 35, 77, 85n,
 116, 154, (north west) 163, 204, 205,
 212–213, 215–216
 Central 5, 6, 265
 Eastern 2, 8, 265
 Northern 28, 29, 143
 European 2, 8, 37, 85n, 128, 130, 135, 141, 144,
 205, 216, 230, 236, 254
 excommunication 95
- Farnese, Alexander 274
 Faunt SJ, Arthur Lawrence 13, 13n, 14, 22,
 49, 51, 55
 Featley, Daniel 152
 Fenn, John 19, 99
 Figueroa de, Lorenzo 136
 Fisher, John, Bishop of Rochester 99, 227,
 228, 235, 258n
 Fisher SJ, John 121
 Fitzalan, Henry 252, 252n, 253
 Flanders 178, 275, 280
 Fleetwood, William 106
 Flemish printers
 Trognaesius, Joachim 276, 282
 Coninx, Arnout 276
 Flinton, George 243
 Floyd, Griffin 36
 Floyd, John senior 121
folio 116, 214
 Fowler, John 192n, 196n, 214, 230, 259
 Foxe, John 16, 18, 148, 229n
 France 155, 162–163, 165, 178, 196n
 Franciscan (friars) 60
 François, Duke of Anjou 100
 Frauenberg (Frombork) 28
 Fresneda de, Bernard 136
 Fritzherbert, Thomas 160

- Fuente de, Alonso 134
 Fulke, William 16, 102, 221, 230, 236, 259n
- Gallio, Tolomeo, Cardinal of Como 72
 Garnet SJ, Henry 19, 108, 259n
 Gatehouse 98, 141, 191
 Gdańsk (also Danzig) 7, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 38, 39
 General Statute of Toleration of the
 Warsaw Confederation (see also Warsaw
 Confederation) 11, 78
 Geneva 154, 210
 George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence
 Gerard SJ, John 27
 German 28, 30, 31, 74n, 90, 94, 99, 130
 Germany 63, 140, 161, 178, 187
 Gibbons SJ, John 19, 197n, 214
 Gibbons, Richard 142, 209
 Gilbert, George 97, 100, 101, 103, 104, 163, 189, 208, 209
 Gloucester 112
 Gloucestershire 111
 Gockman, William 228, 228n
 Goldwell, Bishop Thomas 193
 Golgotha 273
 Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge 227
 Gordon, George (1st Marquis of Huntly) 30
 Gordon, Leopold 12
 Gordon, Patrick 36
 Gordon, Robert 30
 Goslicius, Laurentius Grimalius (also
 Goślicki, Wawrzyniec) 42, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172
 Gough, Mary 141
 Grammar 29, 81
 Granada 132
 Granada de OP, Luis 108, 140, 141–150, 152–154, 161, 219, 222, 230, 235–236, 246, 254, 256, 258
 Grand Duchy of Lithuania 2, 2n, 74, 78, 84
 Granier, Nicolas 248
Gratis 69
Gratis plebański 57, 70
 Graziani, Antonio Maria 77
 Great Controversy 15
 Great Fire of London 117
 Greek Church (See also Orthodox
 Church) 38, 178
 Greek literature 75, (Greek letters) 198
 Greencoat (Greenwat) 159
 Gregory XIII (Pope) 80, 101, 233
 Gregory's St., College 129
 Griffith, William 188
 Grindal, Edmund 231
 Grolier, Jean 260,
 Guelders, Duchy 267
 Guiney, Louise Imogen 264
 Gualterus, Rudolphus 229
 Gunpowder Plot 20, 24, 34, 35, 278
- Habsburgs 263, 267
 Habsburg, Ernest Archduke 293
 Haddon, Walter 228–229
Hamlet 7
 Hampden, Isabel 241, 241n, 242–243, 246
 Hampshire Downs 185
 Hanmer, Meredith 104, 206, 201n
 Hansa Towns (Hanseatic League) 28, 38
 Harding, Thomas 135, 275
 Hare, Robert 235–236
 Harington, Sir John 156, 212n
 Harpsfield, Nicholas 19, 196n, 259n
 Harrington, William 194
 Harris, John 197
 Hartley, William 197
 Harvey, John 197
 Hay, John 13, 13n
 Heidelberg 148
 Heigham, John 140, 141
 Henley 185, 195
 Henri III, King of France and King of
 Poland 78, 162n, 163, 163n, 272
 Henrique, Dom 129
 Henry VIII, King of England 29, 33, 34, 147
 Henry I, Duke of Guise 156, 162
 Hereford 110, 111
 Hereford Cathedral 117, 117n, 118n, 124
 Herefordshire 110, 111
 heretics 19, 21, 82, 93, 94, 105, 140, 145, 147, 205
 Hesketh, Richard 150
 Heskin, Thomas 275
 Heskyns, Thomas 230
 Hide, Thomas 102, 275
 Higgons, Theophilus 121
 Hoffaeus SJ, Paul 94
 Hoghton, Richard 194
 Holbeck Library 117n, 118, 122, 127

- Holofernes 100
 Holy Land 100
 Hopkins, Richard 108, 135, 136, 138
 Hosius, Stanislaus, Cardinal, Prince-Bishop of Ermland 12, 14, 15, 16, 22, 28, 29, 43, 45, 74, 213, 235, 257, 271
 Howard, Douglass 156, 165
 Howard, Phillip (Earl of Arundel) 228n, 234, 253, 258–259
 Howard, Lord William 234–235
 Huguenots 163
 humanism 269
 Humfrey, Laurence 206
 Hus, Jan 205
 Hussey, William 225
- Ignatius of Loyola SJ, Saint 88, 123
 illuminists (*alumbrados*) 132
imitatio Christi 273
Index librorum prohibitorum 60, 67
 Ingoldstadt 21, 95, 116, 212
 Inquisition 132, 133, 138, 141, 146, 147, 148, 153
 Ireland 189
 Ivan the Terrible, Grand Duke of Moscow and Tsar of Russia 78
- Jagiellonka, Anna (also Anna Jagiellon), Queen of Poland 23
 James VI of Scotland (also James I of England) 32, 33, 37, 121, 283
 Januszowski, Jan 42
 Jay, Henry (see also Jaye, Hendrick) 276
 Jaye, Hendrick (see also Jay, Henry) 276
 Jędrzejowczyk, Maciej 42, 60, 61
 Jenkes, Rowland 186, 202, 203, 207–208
 Jerusalem 72
 Jesuit Academy of Vilnius VII, 12, 31, 79–80, 84, 87–88
 Jesuit colleges 11, 29, 30, 39, 90, 110, 116, 116n, 117, 118, 124
 Jesuit missionary library 100, 114, 118
 Jesuits 11–13, 16–17, 20–21, 23, 27, 29–30, 32, 34, 36–37, 39, 64, 63n, 65–70, 78n, 79–82, 93–95, 98–100, 102–103, 107, 109, 142, 145, 185n, 186, 187, 189, 196, 211, 233
 Jesus Christ 98, 99, 103, 174, 175, 181
 Jewel, John, Bishop of Salisbury 16, 96, 228n, 243
 Jews 11, 38, 79, 131
- John III, King of Sweden 33
 Johnson, Robert 148
 Judith 100
 Jurkowlaniec, Grażyna 271
- Kalisz (Calissia) 41, 42, 52, 53, 54, 55
 Karaites 11
 Karnkowski, Stanisław, Archbishop, Primate of Poland 42
 Kazimierz the Great, King of Poland 47
 Kazimierz, Marcin of 85
 Keerbergius, Joannes 43
 Kempis à, Thomas 123, 132, 219
 Kent 190
 Kiejstut, Grand Duke of Lithuania 47
 Kinckius, Johann 123
 Kirishitan laity 144
 Kirk 33, 34
 Knapski SJ, Grzegorz 70
 Knights Hospitallers of St John 194
 Knollys, Francis 171, 172
 Komarnicka, Anna 90
 Konarski, Adam, Bishop of Poznań 78
 Königsberg (Królewiec, now Kalinigrad) 29
 Korotaj, Władysław 47
 Kościelecki, Łukasz 66
 Kozłowski OP, Mathaeus (Mateusz) 213
 Kraków 2, 3, 32, 37, 38, 53, 67, 68, 69, 70, 74, 79, 82, 213, 213n, 269
 Kryski, Feliks, Grand Chancellor of Poland 38
- Lake, Peter 210
 Lambeth Palace Library 117, 117n, 219n, 223
 Lancashire 193
 Lancelotti, Giovanni Battista 68
 Lanspergius Justus, Johan 219
 Łaski, Jan (the Younger, 1499–1560) 75
 Łaszcz, Marcin 65
 Laterna, Marcin 20,
 Latin 204, 209
 Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury 121
 Lawson, John 225
 Łęczyca, Daniel of 85
 Ledisma SJ, Jacobus 219
Leicester's Commonwealth 155, 157–160, 161, 164–166, 220n, 237, 245
 Leslie, John (Bishop) 97

- library 195, 197, 213, 219, 223, 225–231,
234–237, 239–241, 244–245, 248–249,
251–261
- Liège 115
- Lindanus, Wilhelmus, Bishop of Roermond
and Bishop of Ghent 248, 248n
- Lipsius, Iustus 17
- Lipski, Andrzej 67
- Lisboa (Lisbon) 135n
- Lisiecki, Andrzej (Andreas) 41, 55
- Livonia 72, 78, 80
- Llandaff 112
- Loarte de SJ, Gaspar 95, 99, 108, 109, 191n
- Lodge, Thomas 149
- Lollards 205
- London 93, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104,
105, 106, 109, 196, 197
- Lord Grey 189
- Lord Petre 118
- Louvain 15, 29, 96, 102, 135, 192n,
214, 246
- Louvain School of Apologetics 14, 15,
247, 254
- Low Countries (also the Netherlands) 263,
267, 273, 274, 275, 281, 285
- Loyola SJ of, Ignatius 94, 95, 108, 114,
123, 125
- Lubieniecki OP, Jan Damascene (Jan
Damasceński) OP 213
- Ludolf of Saxony 114
- Lumley, John 251, 258–260
- Lutheranism 37, 133, 153 (Martin Luther)
187, 187n, 204–206
- Lycurgus 47
- Lyford Grange 105, 194, 208n
- Lyon, John 97, 98
- Lyons 214
- Mackworth, Humphrey 189
- Madrid de, Alonso 218
- Magdalen College, Oxford 29
- Mainz 116, 272
- Makowiecki, Hieronim 76
- Manuel, King of Spain 129
- manuscripts 124–127, 185, 210–211, 217,
250–253, 257
- margins 197, 202, 205, 213
- Marian priests 188, 192, 197
- Mars 47
- Marshall, John 275
- Martin Marprelate controversy 172
- Martin SJ, Gregory 99, 204n, 221, 230,
243, 247, 272
- martyrology 271
- Maria of the Visitation, OP 134
- Mary Tudor, Queen of England 218, 274, 268
- Mary, Queen of Scots 97, 157, 159, 160, 244,
249, 252, 257
- Matthew, Tobie 120
- Matthieu, Claude 162
- Mercurian SJ, Everard, Superior General of
the Society of Jesus 82, 93, 94, 100, 101,
120, 189, 193n
- Meres, Francis 150
- Meursius, Johann 118
- Middle Temple 135
- Mikołajewski, Daniel 66
- Milesius Rotundus, Augustinus 66
- Mińsk 81
- missionary library 112–113, 116, 121, 118, 116n
- Mitchell, John 99
- Modrzewski, Andrzej Frycz 59
- Mohylev 47n
- Monmouthshire 110–111
- Montague, Richard 141
- Montanus, Reginaldus Gonsalvius 148
- More, Henry 193, 216
- More, Thomas 47, 51, 189, 196n
- Morgan, Thomas 162–165, 234, 248, 249,
258–259
- Morini, Massimiliano 263
- moriscos* 153
- Morone, Giovanni, Cardinal, Bishop of
Modena 213
- Morton, Thomas 153
- Moryson, Fynes 44
- Munich 116, 187–188, 213n, 216, 272
- Murthly 29, 32
- Muscovites 72, 78, 80
- Musculus, Andreas 229
- Muslims 11, 38, 79, 131
- mysticism 275
- Myszkowski, Piotr, Bishop of
Kraków 169
- Nadal SJ, Jerónimo 94, 95
- Nagasaki 144
- Najman, Jakub 61–63, 69

- National bibliography 1
 Nativity 283
 Nering, Melchior 66
 Netherlands (also Low Countries) 263, 267,
 273, 274, 275, 281, 285
 Southern Netherlands 267, 275
 Northern Netherlands (also the Dutch
 Republic) 274, 267
 Neville, Sir Henry
 Newgate 98, 192
 Nidecki, Andrzej Patrycy 81
 Niemojewski, Jan 66
 Nieremberg, Juan Eusebio 122
 Nieśwież 74, 79, 80, 81, 82, 90
 Noot van der, Jan 275
 Norwich 155
Notae Ecclesiae 14
 Nowell, Alexander 187, 202, 210
 Nowodworski, Jerzy 68
 Nowogródek 81

 Oath of Supremacy 227n, 268
 Ogden
 Collection 167, 170
 manuscript 171, 172, 182
octavo 116, 198
 Odysseus 47
Okrucieństwo kacyrskie 21, 22
 Old Bailey 98
Omnipotens Deus (Papal bull) 23
 Opaliński de Bnin, Andrzej 68, 68n
 Ortelius, Abraham 275
 Orthodox Church (Greek Orthodox
 Christians) 38, 81, 178
 Osório da Fonseca, Jerónimo 228–229,
 229n, 235, 258
 Osuna de, Francisco 132
 Oxford 15, 29, 104, 105, 122, 156, 160,
 186, 192n, 201, 203, 204, 206–209,
 231–235

 Pacenius (Passenius) 34, 35
 Padua 28, 78, (University of Padua) 168, 169
 Paget Lord, Thomas 163, 236
 Paget, Charles 157, 158, 163, 164, 165
 Paleotti, Gabriele, Cardinal, Archbishop of
 Bologna 72, 78
 pamphlets 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 64, 67,
 70, 71, 84, 108, 160, 240, 277, 278, 280,
 281, 282

 Pantaleon, Heinrich 18
 Papal legate 67, 68, 77
 Papists 98, 121, 138, 152
 parchment 185, 199n, 201, 201n, 202, 210
 Paris 21, 78, 100, 106, 108, 109, 116, 135, 144,
 157, 160, 162–164, 212, 272
 Parker, Matthew 234
pasquil 35, 36, 37
 Paulet Lady (formerly Lady
 Waldegrave) 234
 Pawlikowski Codex 41
 Paxillus, Bernard 42
 Peckham, George 188
 Pembroke College, Cambridge 170
 Percy, Mary, Lady 283
 Perne, Andrew 230, 230n, 236, 251,
 252, 260
 persecutions (religious) 22, 24, 25, 26, 135,
 (state) 159, 161, 165, 188–190
 Persons (Parsons) SJ, Robert 21, 39, 43, 51,
 93, 100–107, 122, 143, 157–166, 186, 188,
 191n, 193–196, 196n, 197n, 199, 201, 201n,
 202, 207–210, 220–221, 227, 230, 237,
 240, 243, 245–246, 248, 250, 256, 259,
 271, 276, 279, 280, 281, 281n
 Peterhouse College, Cambridge 227
 Philip II, King of Spain 31, 136, 274
 Philopatris, Ihon (also Persons,
 Robert) 281n (Philopater), 165
 philosophy 87
 Piarists (Clerks Regular of the Pious
 Schools) 47
 Pierrepont, Gervase 189
 Pinelli SJ, Luca 219
 Piotrkowczyk, Andrzej 24, 65
 Pius V, Pope 61, 77, 96, 233, 258, 283
 Plantin, Christopher 272, 275
 playbills 49
 poetics 81
 Pointz, Robert 275
 Polanco SJ, Juan Alfonso de 30, 31, 122,
 Poland, Kingdom of 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 15, 17, 20,
 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 38, 39, 69, 71,
 72, 78, 79, 161
 Pole, Reginald, Cardinal, Archbishop of
 Canterbury 28, 145, 146, 228n, 257
 polemics 81, 122, 127, 147, 155, 165, 217–218,
 247, 248, 250, 254, 259, 259n, 260
 Polish Brethren (see also Anti-trinitarians,
 Arians) 23, 25, 59, 74, 80

- Polish Jesuits 64
- Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth
(*Rzeczpospolita*) 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 11, 16,
22, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 37,
38, 59, 60, 62, 64, 67, 69, 70,
72, 74, 79
- Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth
(*Rzeczpospolita*)
civic virtues 41, 43
Jesuit theatre 41, 45, 46, 47
nobility (*szlachta*) 41, 43, 44, 45, 46
libraries 41, 42, 43, 44
common good 41
toleration 44, 45
schools 42
- Pollen SJ, John Hungerford 185n, 195
- polonica* 4, 5, 6
- Pomerania 28, 63n
- Pont-à-Mousson 212
- Poor Clares of Graveling 141
- Popish Plot 117
- Possevino SJ, Antonio 32, 33, 78, 79
- Post of the World* 269
- Poszakowski SJ, Jan 27
- Pounde, Thomas 49, 51
- Powodowski, Hieronim 21, 42
- Poznań 12, 13, 21, 39, 40, 51, 52, 54, 55,
58, 66, 68, 70, 78
- Prague 52, 53, 212
- preaching 190, 194, 197, 215
- Presbyterian Church 29, 206
- Presbyterian Church of Scotland 29, 172
- preventive censorship 59
- Prince of Parma 164
- printers 59, 60, 61, 69, 70, 85, 88, 96,
99, 100, 141, 164, 199, 200
- printing house
Flemish 275
Brabantine 275
- printing press 71, 79, 80, 81, 82, 90, 103,
105, 144, 192, 217
- Priory of the Holy Cross 129
- Privy Council 231, 238, 240n, 244–245
- Protaszewicz, Walerian, Bishop of
Vilnius 45
- Protestant Reformation 181
- Protestants 11, 14, 18, 27, 59, 66, 74, 80,
88, 95, (Protestantism, 98), 98, 99
(Protestant services, 103) 122, 133, 145,
147, 182, 251
- Prussia 28, 32
- psalters 224, 231, 246
- publishers 199n, 200
- Puente de la Luis 122–123
- Pułtusk 60
- Radoszkowice 78
- Radymiński, Marcin 58
- Radziwiłł Jerzy (Bishop) 85, 88
- Radziwiłł, Mikołaj 'the Black' 18, 74, 78
- Radziwiłł, Mikołaj 'the Red' 77, 78, 85
- Radziwiłł, Mikołaj Krzysztof 'the
Orphan' 72, 74, 75, 77, 80, 81, 82,
85, 90, 213
- Rainolds, John 221, 259n
- Rainolds, William 230
- Raleigh, Walter 189
- Rastall, John 230, 275
- Ratcliffe, Charles 236–237
- Rationes decem* 23, 24, 25, 81, 87, 104, 160,
185–216, 245, 247, 250
- Recusant prose 11, 23, 25, (books) 201
- Recusants 33, 106, 115, 116, 138, 143, 232
- repressive censorship 59, 131, 154
- republica 175, 176
- Reszka, Stanisław 15
- Rheims 106, 107, 108, 209, 220, 243, 244, 256
- Rhetoric 29, 77, 81
- Ribadeneira, Pedro 148
- Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester 49
- Rogers, John 32
- Roman Catholic Church 77, (Church of
Rome) 141, 153, 185, 253, 260–261
- Roman law 76
- Roman Rota 56, 61,
- Rome 17, 18, 21, 32, 33, 52, 53, 60, 72, 77,
80, 82, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 105, 146, 157,
158n, 165, 199, 204, 212–213, 216, 222,
225, 272
- rosary 283
- Rouen 105, 108, 159–160, 191n, 196, 196n,
220–222, 243, 246, 271, 272
- Rowlands, Richard (also Richard
Verstegan) 106
- Royal Proclamation 156
- Rozdrażewski, Hieronim 31
- Rubens, Peter Paul 275
- Rudolph II, Emperor 53
- Russia 38
- Ryrie, Alec 152

- Sales de, Francis 141
 Salmerón, Alfonso 94
 samizdat 172
 Sander, Nicholas 15, 19, 28, 43, 93, 160–161,
 189, 193, 204, 213–214, 214n, 230, 250,
 254, 259n, 275
 Sandomierz 37, 38
 Santa Domingo de Escalaceli 129
 Satan 135, 138
 Scaliger, Julius Cesar 274
 Scandinavia 29, 79, 80
 Scheldt, (River) 273, 275
 Schilter, Zachariasz 14
 Scholarius, Gennadarius Georgius 88
 Schonfels, Georg 73
 Schwarz, Stuart 154
 Scotland 150, 162
 Scott, Monford 237
 Scottish Jesuits 12, 36, 45
 Scupoli, Lorenzo 219
 Sejm (Lower House of the Polish parlia-
 ment) 42, 46, 57, 63, 65, 78, 169–171
 Sejmik (pre-parliamentary regional as-
 sembly in the Polish-Lithuanian
 Commonwealth) 57
 Shacklock, Richard 15, 16
 Sheldon, Ralph 192
 Sheprey, William 72, 78
 Sherwin, Ralph 19, 22
 Sidney, Sir Philip 156, 204, 205
 Siege of Uła 78
 Siege of Velikiye Luki 72
 Sigismund I, Jagiellon, King of Poland 59,
 60, 62,
 Sigismund II Augustus, King of Poland 28,
 59, 74, 78
 Sigismund III Vasa, King of Poland 20, 28,
 29, 35, 62, 64, 78
 Simier, Henry 163
 Simmes, Valentine 138n, 149
 Sixtus V (Pope) 129,
 Skarga SJ, Piotr 17–21, 24, 26, 33, 40, 63, 64,
 66, 80, 82, 85, 87–88, 90, 90n, 213
 Smerwick 189
 Śmiglecki SJ, Marcin 66
 Smith, Richard 122
 Society of Jesus 93, 107, 110, 114, 117, 118n, 122,
 123, 200, 204
 Socinianism (also Arianism) 28, 87
 Somerset 110, 209
 Southwark 103, 104, 104n, 186, 202, 208, 210n
 Southwell SJ, Robert 108, 109, 134, 257n
 Southworth, Sir John 237–251
 Southworth, Thomas 237–241
 Spanish Armada 129, 241n
 Spencer, John 117
 St. Davids 112
 St. John's College, Cambridge 228
 St. John's College, Oxford 255n, 257n, 260
 St. Omer Press 142
 St. Omer 220, 259n
 St. Winefride Residence 110
 Stafford, Edward 157, 160, 272
 Stanley, Fernando 142
 Stanley, William 142, 150
 Stanyhurst, Richard 259
 Stapleton, Thomas 15, 16, 17, 18, 228,
 254, 259, 275
Stare Szkoty (Alt Schottland) 30
 stationer 228, 229n, 248
 Stationers' Company 95, 149, 150,
 Stonor Park 88, 104, 195, 196, 200, 203n,
 212–213, 240
 Story, Dr John 214
 Stow, John 231, 233–234
 Strachan, George 36
 Strasbourg 75, 77
 Strype, John 170, 170n, 171, 171n,
 220–221n, 238
 Stuart, Esmé Duke of Lennox 162
 Stuart, Mary, Queen of Scots 19
 Stubbs, John 102
 Sturm, Johannes 77
 subversive book trade 155
 subversive printing 160, 199, 261
 Surius, Laurentius 90
 Suso OP, Henry 99
 Sutton, John 236–237
 Szembek, Fryderyk 57, 58, 65, 70
 szlachta (Polish nobility) 62, 84
 Szydłowiecka, Elżbieta 74
 Szydłowiecki, Krzysztof 74
 Szyszkowski, Marcin 58, 60, 61, 64,
 65, 67, 68
 Talpin, Jean 247
 Tanner, Mathias 27
 Tassis, Juan de 162, 164

- The Counsellor* (see also *De Optimo Senatore*) 167–182
- Theodosius, Emperor 52
- Thorowgood, Benedict 228, 228n
- Throckmorton Plot 162, 165, 236
- Throckmorton, Francis 157
- Tokugawa regime 144
- Toruń 62, 68
- Tossanus, Danielis 14
- Tower of London 98, 104, 106, 187
- Trakai (also Troki) 75, 79
- translation 130, 156, 163, 167, 181, 186, 216
- Tresham, Thomas 143, 251, 254, 255n, 259n, 260
- Treter, Thomas 72
- Tridentine (see also Council of Trent) 74, 84, 90, 101, 140, 141, 141, 235, 246, 248
- Trier 212
- Trinity College, Cambridge XIII, 170, 228, 253
- Tripoli 72
- Troki (also Trakai) 75, 79
- Truce of Yam Zapolski 78
- Tübingen 75, 77
- Tucker, John 197
- Tunstall, Cuthbert 227n
- Turner, Robert 214, 214n
- Tyburn 98, 107, 197, 215–216
- Tylicki, Piotr, Bishop of Kraków 67
- University College London 168
- University of Kraków (also Academy of Kraków) 68, 69, 70
- Usza (River) 80
- Uxbridge 188–190, 192
- Valdes de, Fernando 133
- Valdes de, Juan 133
- Valingnano, Alessandro 144
- Valladolid 129, 132, 133, 158n, 220, 248
- Vallenger, Stephen 106, 270
- Valsergues de, Jean Albin 98
- Van Hyning, Victoria 123
- Vaux, Laurence 236, 243, 246
- vellum 116
- Vendius, Erasmus 272
- Venice 72, 78, 167, 168, 248
- Vergerio, Pier Paolo 75
- vernacular books 217–222, 241, 245–246
- Verstegan, Richard (see also Verstegen, Versteganus, Richard and Rowlands, Richard) 160
- his epistolary propaganda 277
- editor 276
- his biographer Paul Arblaster 268, 269
- as political author 263
- work in context 264
- poems 264, 285
- publishing output 267
- life 267, 274
- as *mercator sapiens*
- his first book 269
- ‘prynter in Smythefield’ 270
- punishment 271, 272
- Theatrum crudelitatum* 272, 273
- cooperation with Allen and Persons 276
- A copy of a Letter* 277, 278, 279
- A declaration of the true Causes* 282
- Primer* 282
- Odes* 283
- Villiers, George 120
- Villiers, Mary, Duchess of Buckinghamshire 120
- Vilnius (Vilna, Wilno) 31, 33, 47, 49, 66, 74, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 90, 185, 213
- virtue 41
- Vladislaus IV Vasa, King of Poland 47, 56
- Volanus, Andreas (see also Andrzej Wolan) 66, 66n, 87
- Wales 107, 110, 112
- Walpole, Henry 106, 107
- Walsingham, Francis 32, 155
- War of Roses 47
- Wargocki, Andrzej 17, 18
- Warmia (Ermland) 28, 34, 36, 62, 72
- Warsaw 2n, 8, 38, 68, 70
- Warsaw Confederation (see also General Statute of Toleration of the Warsaw Confederation) 11, 22, 44, 60, 78
- Waterworth, John 181
- Webley, Thomas 220
- Welsh missionary library 121
- Westminster 95
- Weston, William 160, 249
- Whitaker, William 24, 206, 221, 235n, 250, 259n
- Whitford, Richard 99, 108

- Whitgift, John, Archbishop of
 Canterbury 170, 170n, 171
 Wielewicki, Jan 57, 58, 64, 65, 67n
 Wielkanoc 69
 Wilkes, Thomas 209
 Wilkowski, Kasper (Gaspar) 23, 24, 25, 87
 Willhelm v, Duke of Bavaria 187, 188
 William I, Prince of Orange 274
 Wilson, Matthew (alias Knott, Edward) 120
 Winchester 185, 198n, 201, 210
 Wilno (Vilna, Vilnius) 31, 33, 47, 49, 66, 74,
 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 90, 185, 213
 Wiśniowiecka, Elżbieta 79
 Wiśniowiecki, Andrzej 79
 Wittenberg 154
 Wolan, Andrzej (see also Andreas
 Volanus) 66, 66n, 87
 Wolrab, Jan 13n, 21
 Wołyn 79
 Worcester, Earls of 112
 World War II 1, 4n, 28, 215
 Wosiński, Andrzej 69, 69n
 Wrocław 1n, 7
 Wycliffe, John 205
 Yamamoto-Wilson, John 143, 152
 York 107, 225
 Zacchi, Romana 263
 Zagórny, Andrzej 62, 63, 64
 Zahorowski, Hieronim 68
 Zamoyski, Jan 20
 Zbaraski, Jerzy 69
 Zwingli, Ulrich 98, 138
Żywoty Świętych [Lives of the Saints] 20, 21,
 21n, 82, 90